



New Amazigh Grammar

By
Fatima Boukhris
Abdallah Boumalk
El Houssain El Moujahid
Hamid Souifi

Translated by
Khalid Ansar

CAL – IRCAM

2023



New Amazigh Grammar

By

Fatima BOUKHRIS

Abdallah BOUMALK

El Houssaïn EL MOUJAHID

Hamid SOUIFI

Translated by

Khalid ANSAR

CAL – IRCAM

2022

Publications de l'Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe

Centre de l'aménagement linguistique

Série : Traduction N°: 59

NEW AMAZIGH GRAMMAR

By

Fatima BOUKHRIS

Abdallah BOUMALK

El Houssaïn EL MOUJAHID

Hamid SOUFI

Translated by

Khalid ANSAR

Editeur

Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe

Dépôt légal

2022MO4267

ISBN

978-9920-739-80-1

Impression

Editions & Impressions Bouregreg - Rabat

Edition

2022

Copyright

IRCAM

Table of contents

Abbreviation	9
Preface.....	11
Chapter 1: Standard Amazigh phonemes.....	15
1. Phoneme inventory	15
1.1. Phoneme inventory	15
1.2. The criteria adopted in the elaboration of the alphabet.....	18
1.3. Non-retained phonetic units.....	18
1.3.1. <i>Spirants</i>	18
1.3.2. <i>Affricates</i>	20
1.3.3. <i>Emphatics</i>	20
1.3.4. <i>Labiovelars</i>	21
1.3.5. <i>Sibilants</i>	21
1.3.6. <i>Rhotacism</i>	21
1.4. Phonetic processes	22
1.4.1. <i>Assimilation</i>	22
1.4.2. <i>Vowel clusters</i>	24
1.4.3 <i>Compensatory lengthening</i>	25
Chapter 2: Spelling rules.....	29
1. Graphic word categories	29
2 Schwa writing rules.....	35
Chapter 3: The noun and the noun phrase.....	37
1. Noun formation.....	37
1.1. Gender.....	37
a. <i>Masculine nouns</i>	38
b. <i>Feminine nouns</i>	39
c. <i>Nouns with a single gender</i>	41
1.2. Number	41
a. <i>Regular plural</i>	42
b. <i>Broken plural</i>	43
c. <i>Mixed plural (suffixation and internal vocalic alteration)</i>	43
d. <i>Plural of nouns preceded by ء- / u- and ءllt- / ult-</i>	44
e. <i>The plural with ءΛ / id</i>	44
f. <i>The plural form of integrated borrowed nouns</i>	45
g. <i>Nouns in singular or plural form only</i>	45

<i>h. Nouns whose plural form is lexically different from their counterparts in the singular form</i>	46
1.3. State: free vs. construct	46
<i>a. Free State</i>	46
<i>b. Construct State</i>	48
2. Derived and compound nouns	53
2.1. Derived nouns	53
<i>a. Action nouns</i>	53
<i>b. Agentive nouns</i>	55
<i>c. Instrumental nouns</i>	56
2.2. Compound nouns	57
3. Quality nouns	59
3.1. The structure of quality nouns	59
3.2. Quality nouns uses	60
4. Numerals	60
4.1. Numbers from 1 to 10	61
4.2. Numerals from 11 to 19	62
4.3. Numerals with values of tens	63
4.4. Numbers greater than 20	63
4.5 ordinal numbers	64
4.6. Fractions.....	64
5. The noun phrase	65
5.1. Noun phrases without determination	65
<i>a. Predicative use</i>	65
<i>b. Use with the predicator Λ / d</i>	66
5.2. Noun phrases with determiners or specifiers	67
<i>a. Defined noun phrases</i>	67
<i>b. Indefinite NP</i>	67
<i>c. NP introduced by a presenter</i>	68
<i>d. Noun topicalizers</i>	68
<i>e. Numeral determiners</i>	70
<i>f. NPs with quantifiers</i>	71
<i>g. NPs with partitives</i>	72
<i>h. NPs with morphemes of otherness: $\text{ʕ}^\bullet\text{El}^\bullet\text{El}$ / yaḏnin, $\text{ʕ}^\bullet\text{El}$ / yaḏn, $\text{I}^\bullet\text{El}$ / niḏn “other”</i>	
<i>i. NPs with demonstrative determiners</i>	73
<i>j. Genitive NP: the noun and its complement</i>	74
<i>k. NPs with quality nouns</i>	74

1. NPs with a relative clause	74
5.3. NP and coordination.....	75
Chapter 4: The pronoun.....	77
1. Personal pronouns.....	77
1.1. Independent or autonomous personal pronouns	77
1.2. Affixal personal pronouns	79
a. Subject affixal pronouns	79
b. Affixal pronouns that refer to the object	80
c. Pronouns acting as a noun complement	81
d. Affixal pronouns acting as objects of prepositions	82
2. Demonstrative pronouns	83
3. Possessive pronouns.....	84
4. Interrogative pronouns	86
5. Indefinite pronouns	87
Chapter 5: Verbs and verb phrases.....	89
1. Simple verbs.....	89
1.1. The root and the stem.....	89
1.2. Verbal inflections.....	90
a. Inflectional markers of the non-imperative form.....	91
b. The imperative mood inflectional markers	91
c. Inflectional markers of the participial form.....	92
1.3. Verbal themes	93
a. The aorist.....	93
b. Positive perfective	95
c. Negative perfective	98
d. The imperfective	99
1.4. The imperative	102
2. Derived verbs	103
2.1. The causative form.....	103
a. Structure	103
b. Conjugation	105
2.2. The passive form	107
a. Structure.....	107
b. Conjugation	109
2.3. The reciprocal form.....	110
a. Structure.....	110
b. Conjugation	111
2.4. Overderived forms	111
3. Aspectual particles	112

4. Verb phrase.....	113
4.1. Intransitive verbs.....	114
4.2. Direct transitive verbs.....	114
4.3 Indirect transitive verbs.....	115
4.4. Symmetrical verbs	115
4.5. Link verbs	116
4.6. Particles of orientation Λ / d and l / n	116
Chapter 6: The preposition	119
1. Ordinary prepositions.....	119
2. Complex prepositions	124
3. The morphology of prepositions.....	125
3.1. A preposition followed by a noun or a free pronoun	125
3.2. A preposition followed by an affixal pronoun.....	126
4. Prepositions and their semantic values	127
5. Prepositional phrase	128
5.1. The object of a preposition.....	129
5.2. The syntactic function of a prepositional phrase	129
<i>a. Prepositional phrase as an indirect object.....</i>	<i>129</i>
<i>b. Prepositional phrase as a noun complement.....</i>	<i>130</i>
<i>c. Prepositional phrase as an adverb phrase</i>	<i>131</i>
Chapter 7: The adverb	133
1. Adverbs of place	133
2. Time adverbs.....	133
3. Adverbs of quantity.....	138
4. Adverbs of manner.....	139
Chapter 8: Simple sentence.....	141
1. Affirmative sentence	141
1.1. Verbal sentence	141
<i>a. Constituents.....</i>	<i>141</i>
(i) Subject.....	142
(ii) Topic indicator	143
(iii) Direct object.....	145
(iv) Indirect object	146
<i>b. Agreement.....</i>	<i>147</i>
(i) Agreement between the subject and the verb.....	147
(ii) Agreement between the topic indicator and the verb.....	148
(iii) Agreement between the topic indicator and the endorsing affixal pronouns.....	148
<i>c. Word order in the verbal sentence</i>	<i>149</i>
1.2. Non-verbal sentence.....	150

a. Predicates introduced by the predication particle Λ / d.....	151
b. Predicates introduced by Φ_o / ha or $\Phi_o Z_o$ / haqa	151
c. Predicates without introducing morphemes	152
2. Negative sentence	153
2.1. Verbal negation	153
a. The morpheme ?O / ur	153
b. Discontinuous negation	154
2.2. Non-verbal negation.....	157
2.3 The negation of a completive or noun clause	158
2.4. Position of direct / indirect object pronouns and orientation particles	159
3. Interrogative sentence	159
3.1. Closed questions	159
a. Direct closed questions.....	160
(i) Direct closed questions marked by intonation only	160
(ii) Direct closed questions with interrogative morphemes	160
b. Indirect closed questions	161
3.2. Open-ended questions	162
a. Asking a question on the subject	162
b. Asking a question on the direct object.....	162
c. Asking a question on the indirect object.....	163
d. Interrogative sentences bearing on adverbs and adverb phrases	164
(i) Interrogative adverbs of time	164
(ii) Interrogative adverbs of place.....	165
(iii) Interrogative adverbs of manner	166
(iv) Interrogative adverbs of quantity	167
(v) Interrogative adverbs of cause and reason	167
4. The exclamative sentence	168
4.1. Expressing exclamation by intonation	168
4.2. Exclamation by using exclamative tools.....	168
Chapter 9: Complex sentence	173
1. Relative clauses.....	173
1.1. Relative pronouns	174
1.2. Relative clauses with antecedents	175
a. The relative pronoun as a subject.....	175
b. The relative pronoun as a direct object.....	176
c. The relative pronoun as an indirect object.....	176
d. The relative pronoun as an object of a preposition other than ξ / I... 176	
1.3. Relative clauses without antecedents.....	177
1.4. The position of personal pronouns in relative clauses	178

2. Noun clauses	179
2.1. The morphemes $\xi\odot$ / is, $\circ\mathbb{Z}\mathbb{Z}\circ$ / aqqa and $\circ\Lambda$ / ad	180
a. The morpheme $\xi\odot$ / is	180
b. The morpheme $\circ\mathbb{Z}\mathbb{Z}\circ$ / aqqa	181
c. The morpheme $\circ\Lambda$ / ad	181
2.2. Verbs that introduce noun clauses	182
2.3. The grammatical function of a noun clause	183
3. Topicalized sentences	184
3.1. Topicalization morphemes	184
3.2. Topicalized constituents	185
a. Topicalization of the subject	185
b. Topicalization of the direct object	186
c. Topicalization of the indirect object	186
d. Topicalization of the object of a preposition	187
e. Topicalization of other constituents	187
3.3. The use of Λ / d before the topicalized constituent	188
4. Adverbial clauses	184
4.1. Adverb clauses of time	190
a. Relationship of simultaneity	191
b. Relationship of anteriority	192
c. Relationship of posteriority	193
4.2. Adverb clauses of purpose	194
4.3. Adverb clauses of cause	194
4.4. Adverb clauses expressing concession and opposition	195
4.5. Adverb clauses of condition	196
4.6. Adverb clauses of consequence	197
4.7. Adverb clauses of comparison	197
4.8. Adverb clauses of manner	198
Bibliography	198

Abbreviations

()	: variant or optional element
/	: or
[]	: phonetic realization or pronunciation
<	: is derived from
=	: is equivalent to
>	: brings about
→	: is pronounced, generates
c	: consonant
caus.	: causative
cf.	: confer
Comp	: complement
CS	: Construct State
dir.	: direct
DO	: Direct Object
emph.	: emphatic
fem.	: feminine
FS	: Free State
indir.	: indirect
IO	: Indirect Object
masc.	: masculine
neg.	: negative
NP	: Noun Phrase
Ø	: nothing
obj.	: object
p.	: page
Part.	: particle
pass.	: passive
pers.	: person
plr.	: plural

PP : Prepositional Phrase

pron. : pronoun

recip. : reciprocal

S : subject

sing. : singular

V : verb

v : vowel

vs. : versus

Preface

The process of progressively standardizing the Amazigh language (Berber) may well be viewed to be one of the central goals meant to be achieved by The Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture (IRCAM). In fact, huge efforts have been invested to achieve this goal, and important progress has been attained in this domain ever since the founding of IRCAM. Parallel to the standardization of the Amazigh language, another concomitant workshop which concerns the teaching of the Amazigh language has been underway since 2003. Nowadays, the language is taught at different Moroccan primary schools, the central thrust being to generalize its teaching both vertically (yearly progression from one level to another) and horizontally (extension to new schools).

Further to training trainers in Amazigh, teaching Amazigh means also the elaboration of tools and educational support, and making these tools available to pupils and teachers. This grammar book may well be viewed as one among the basic tools which are indispensable for any pedagogical activity, and without which a language could in no way be adequately taught at school.

Devising a grammar for a language is not something easy. Admittedly, any language, whether it is written or spoken only, has its own grammar, explicit in the first case and simply implicit in the second. It is, therefore, the task of grammarians to make the rules of the language more explicit.

Over the last two centuries at least, many Amazigh grammar works have been elaborated. Importantly, these works exhibit a lot of variation from the standpoint of conception, methodology, approach and presentation. This variation is ascribed to a broad range of reasons; foremost among which are the objectives meant to be achieved and the audience for which these works were intended. Under close scrutiny, all these works serve one common end at least, i.e. exhibiting the fundamentals of the Amazigh language which are shared between all Amazigh varieties no matter how diverse they are. The last three decades have further seen the emergence of a number of studies and works of research bearing on a broad range of Amazigh grammar aspects; these studies have been driven by a variety of theoretical modern linguistic underpinnings.

Paramount among the fundamental characteristics that distinguish the work undertaken, so far, on Amazigh grammar is the fact that it draws heavily on one language variety or, in the best scenario, on a dialect encompassing a composite of other neighbour lects.

This work is meant to be general; its main objective is to set out the functioning of the Amazigh language by paying special attention to the aspects that exhibit its unity. It is not, thereby, meant to lay out the grammar of a particular Amazigh variety but the grammar of Moroccan Amazigh grammar in its entirety, although it is not always an easy goal to be achieved. It is also worthwhile to contend that this work is construed to be part of a larger project meant to standardize the Amazigh language; a project which is still underway and whose central thrust is to equip the language with the necessary reference dictionary and grammar as well as standardize the grammatical and lexical uses of the language. An Amazigh writing system along with a whole range of graphic and spelling norms have already been settled and are under use in the textbooks dubbed ⵜⴰⴳⴷⵓⴷⴰ ⵜⴰⴷⵓⴷⴰ ⵜⴰⴳⴷⵓⴷⴰ [tifawin a tamaziyt] carried out by IRCAM in collaboration with the Ministry of National Education, Higher Teaching, Scientific Research and Executives' Training.

Proceeding to the elaboration of a grammar shared between all Amazigh varieties is beset by many insuperable problems. In fact, the main problem that befalls any linguist working on the unification of Amazigh grammar is variation itself. Notwithstanding the variation problem exhibited by the different Amazigh varieties, it goes without saying that the composite of various works undertaken on Amazigh grammar show that the unity of the Amazigh language is a categorical reality. The idea has been defended since early in the previous century, and it is at the morpho-syntactic level that such unity is more readily observed. Variation is also a categorical reality in Amazigh, and an adequate approach based on valid principles is essentially necessitated. This is why resort was made to the following principles:

- Targeting the unity of the language: the tools and morphemes that are retained are common to the different varieties;

- Trying to safeguard the richness of the language at the grammatical and structural levels. The same idea may well be expressed along various grammatical and lexical means. This explains the presence of a whole range of morphemes to express the same grammatical phenomenon (interrogation,

negation, topicalization, time, etc.). As an example, a yes / no question may well be asked by using either $\xi\odot$ / is or $\sqsubset\circ$ / ma.

- Trying to leave some room to variation: variation is a source of linguistic richness, and can serve stylistic ends. Long term use of some forms may well establish particular semantic and linguistic usages.

This work is intended primarily for teachers, because it is conceived as an accompanying tool for teaching Amazigh in Moroccan schools. It is also intended for any person who is interested in Amazigh learning. This is why the presentation of its different elements follows an approach that proceeds from what is simple to what is more complex; the different grammatical components are also ordered along a pedagogical ranking: sounds and phonemes come first followed by the writing system, morphology and syntax. In each chapter, the same presentation procedure is adopted. The inventory of grammatical tools is set out in the first place, and then their morpho-syntactic attributes follows and finally their classification is provided when applicable.

Examples are of paramount importance in a grammar, irrespective of the nature and objective of such grammar. It is the range of examples provided that illustrate a grammatical rule. This explains why their choice is not always easy. With the principles provided above as well as the pedagogical objectives of this grammar work as background, the supplied examples fall, in large part, under the rubric of common Amazigh. When variation is relevant, a composite of various examples are provided to illustrate the same grammatical phenomenon while paying equal attention to lexical variation. The central thrust behind resorting to such measures is to sensitize readers to the richness of the language at different levels.

This grammar is meant to be a pedagogical grammar and not a work of research. A researcher may, nonetheless, find relevant Amazigh grammar-related information in it.

We have also invested lots of efforts in making this grammar as easy and clear as possible. This is why we have resorted to common terminology, of most concern here the terminology used in the Amazigh tradition at the colonial and post-colonial eras. And any terminological units that have specific meanings in particular linguistic theories have been largely sidestepped to avoid any confusion for the readers.

By making this grammar available to teachers and to the people interested in learning the Amazigh language, it is our hope that we have contributed in filling a linguistic gap by providing a milestone grammatical tool for teaching standard Amazigh.

Many thanks are due to El. Iazzi, M. Ameer, R. Laabdeloui, N. El Azrak and A. Bouhjar for having contributed in a way or in another in the implementation of this work.

The authors

CHAPTER 1

Standard Amazigh phonemes¹

1. Introduction

To transcribe the sounds of a language, we generally have recourse to two types of transcription: *phonetic transcription* and *phonological transcription*. Phonetic transcription may well be viewed as a way of rendering all the phonetic details of a sound or sequence of sounds in a faithful way to their actual pronunciation. Put in another way, the transcription is a narrow one. As for the transcription termed *phonological*, it is a broad transcription meant to render only the prime phonetic features essential for understanding the meaning of a word without paying any attention whatsoever to the phonetic details.

The transcription adopted in this work is phonological. Such transcription derives much of its appeal from its ability to capture the common features observed between different Amazigh varieties.

This chapter tries to give a handle on three points: (i) a presentation of the inventory of segments pertaining to the standard Amazigh phonological system (as construed in IRCAM), (ii) the criteria underlying the choice of Amazigh phonemes, (iii) the whole range of phonetic processes that are neutralised at the orthographic level.

1.1. Phoneme inventory

The phonological system recognises 33 phonemes:

- 27 consonants:

- labials: ⵏ / f, ⵙ / b, ⵎ / m;
- dentals: ⵜ / t, ⵏ / d, ⵉ / ɟ, ⵊ / ɗ, ⵉ / n, ⵓ / r, ⵖ / ʀ, ⵙ / l;

1- A sincere thank you to Mustapha Sghir and Youcef Hdouch for their diligent proofreading of this work.

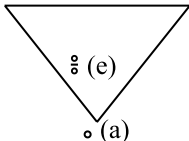
- alveolars: \odot / s, Ж / z, \oslash / ş, Ж / z;
 - (alveo)palatals: Ĉ / c, Ī / j;
 - velars: Ḳ / k, Ḃ / g;
 - labiovelars: Ḳ^w / K^w, Ḃ^w / g^w;
 - uvulars: Ẓ / q, Ḃ / x, Ḃ / ɣ;
 - pharyngeals: Ḳ / ħ, Ḃ / ʕ;
 - laryngeals: Ḳ / h.
- 2 semi-consonants: Ḳ / y, Ḳ / w.
- 3 full vowels: Ḳ / a, Ḳ / i, Ḳ / u.
- 1 neutral vowel: Ḳ / e.

Table 1: The consonantal system of standard Amazigh²

Point of articulation Manner of articulation			Labials	Dentals	Alveolars	AlveoPalatals	Velars	Labiovelars	Uvulars	Pharyngeals	Laryngeals
Occlusives	Non-emph.	Voiceless		ⱱ			ᵛ	ᵛ̥	ʁ		
		Voiced	ⱱ̥	ʙ			ᵛ̥	ᵛ̥̥			
	Emph.	Voiceless		ᵛ̥̥							
		Voiced		ᵛ̥̥̥							
Fricatives	Non-emph.	Voiceless	ᶲ		ᶯ	ᶮ			χ	ħ	ʕ
		Voiced			ᶯ̥	ᶮ̥			ʁ̥	ħ̥	
	Emph.	Voiceless			ᶯ̥̥						
		Voiced			ᶯ̥̥̥						
Nasals			ᵐ	ᵐ̥							
Rhotics	Non-emphatics			ʀ							
	Emphatics			ʀ̥							
Laterals				ᵝ							
Semi-consonants			ᶯ̥̥̥			ɹ					

2- See Ameur, M. et al (2004), p. 16.

Table 2: The Vocalic system of standard Amazigh

<div style="display: inline-block; transform: rotate(-45deg); transform-origin: center;"> Point of articulation Manner of articulation </div>	Back	Front
	◌ (u)	◌ (i)
High		
Low		

Contrary to the vowels ◌ / a, ◌ / u and ◌ / i whose phonemic status is a categorical reality, the vowel ◌ / e, usually termed ‘the neutral vowel’³, stands out as a special vowel, in the sense that it functions as a phonetic unit whose absence affects in no way the meaning of the word.

The graphic system adopted herein, though not strictly phonological, has a phonological tendency. The neutral vowel, accordingly, appears only when its presence is fundamentally necessitated (*cf.* 2.2), namely in the following contexts:

- To foil the attempt to create a sequence of more than two identical consonants – a cluster usually difficult to articulate.

- * ⵜⵜⵜⵓ / * ttr “she asked for” \Rightarrow ⵜⵓⵜⵜⵓ / tettr
- * ⵎⵎⵎⵙⵓ / * mmis “his son” \Rightarrow ⵎⵓⵎⵎⵙⵓ / memmis
- * ⵏⵎⵎⵎ / * dmmm “to beg” \Rightarrow ⵏⵎⵎⵓⵎ / dmmem
- * ⵝⵎⵎⵎ / * zmmm “to write, to record” \Rightarrow ⵝⵎⵎⵓⵎ / zmmem

- In some verb stems containing two identical segments.

ⵎⵕⵕⵙ / mlel	“ to be white”
ⵕⵕⵙⵙ / lyeɣ	“ to be soft, tender”
ⵙⵏⵏ / snen	“ to cook”

3- It is also termed schwa, “silent” e, zero vowel or null vowel.

1.2. The criteria adopted in the elaboration of the alphabet

Along the course of developing the alphabet of Tifinaghe-IRCAM, a composite of various criteria have been taken into account. Foremost among these criteria is the fact that the selection of the alphabet was phonology-based. A set of other criteria that were taken into consideration are laid out as follows:

- Univocity of the sign: Along this criterion, a one-to-one relationship is observed between the grapheme and the sound it refers to. This relationship foils the attempt to create diagraphs (such as *ch* [ʃ] or *ph* [f] in French).
- Geography extension: Only distinctive oppositions common to the three varieties are taken into consideration and retained. When an opposition is observed in some few Amazigh varieties, it is not retained.
- Functional productivity: Along this principle, only productive phonemic oppositions are retained. Put more clearly, an isolated minimal pair⁴ is entirely rejected and its opposing units are denied any functional distinctive status (the case of non-emphatic *I* [j] opposed to emphatic *I* [j]).
- The neutralisation of linguistic variation: Irrelevant phonetic dialectal variation is not retained in the phonological system. Conversely, the same variation is freely tolerated in oral production.

1.3. Non-retained phonetic units

With the afore-mentioned criteria as background, the decision to abandon some phonetic units becomes sorely needed. Accordingly, some phonetic units that are either less productive or that ensue from regional variation are not retained in the graphic system.

1.3.1. *Spirants*

Spirantisation is one of the most prominent phonological processes that operate in Amazigh. The central thrust of this process is to alter stops into spirants. Under spirantisation, bilabial Θ / b, dental \dagger / t and Λ / d coupled with velar \mathbb{K} / k and \mathbb{X} / g shift into their corresponding spirant forms (Θ / b > \oplus / β ,

4- From the standpoint of structural phonology, a minimal pair refers to two words that are identical in all phonemes except one, for instance $\mathbb{X}\mathbb{M}\mathbb{C}$ / *izm* “lion”- $\mathbb{X}\mathbb{M}\mathbb{C}$ / *ilm* “skin”.

þ / t > ʁ / θ, ʌ / d > v / δ, ʁ / k > ʁ / ç, ʒ / c and ʁ / g > ʒ / ʃ, ʃ / y, i / j). The spirant forms of the above occlusive consonants are viewed as their regional variants. The exchange of stops with their corresponding spirant forms brings about no change in word meaning. Accordingly, the words ʒⵜⵓⵛⵓ / aþrið, ʁⵓⵛⵓⵔ / θamyarθ, ʒⵓⵙⵓ / açsum, ʒⵓⵛⵓⵔ / arjaz will be written respectively as ʒⵜⵓⵛⵓ / abrid “way”, þⵓⵛⵓⵔ / tamyard “woman”, ʒⵓⵙⵓ / aksum “meat” and ʒⵓⵛⵓⵔ / argaz “man”.

The phonetic evolution of the velar sounds ʁ / k and ʁ / g has known many stages: first, spirantisation (ʁ / ç, ʒ / ʃ) and then palatalization (ʒ / c, i / j, ʃ / y).

ʁ / k → ʁ / ç⁵ → ʒ / c: ʒⵏⵏⵓ / aknaf → ʒⵏⵏⵓ / açnaf → ʒⵏⵏⵓ / acnaf “roasting”

ʁ / g → ʒ / ʃ → ʃ / y: ʒⵏⵏⵓ / agmar → ʒⵏⵏⵓ / aþmar → ʒⵏⵏⵓ / aymar “horse”

ʁ / g → ʒ / ʃ → i / j: ʒⵏⵏⵓ / agrtil → ʒⵏⵏⵓ / aþtil → ʒⵏⵏⵓ / ajtil “mat”

No matter how the two phonemes ʁ / k and ʁ / g are realized, it is always the occlusive form that is retained at the writing level as an *archigrapheme* (main grapheme).

The only pertinent opposition that obtains between stops and fricatives in some Amazigh varieties is morpho-phonological in nature. This opposition is observed in the 3rd person singular direct object pronoun. The pronoun surfaces in two different ways: it surfaces as þ / t in the feminine form and as ʁ / θ in the masculine form.

ⵜⵓⵛⵓ þ / syiy t “I bought it (fem.).”

ⵜⵓⵛⵓ ʁ / syiy θ “I bought it (masc.).”

This morphological opposition is resolved in the graphic form by using þ / t for the masculine form and þþ / tt for the feminine form.

ⵜⵓⵛⵓ þþ / syiy tt “I bought it (fem.).”

ⵜⵓⵛⵓ þ / syiy t “I bought it (masc.).”

5- See the extended Tifinagh Alphabet in *Graphie et orthographe de l'amazighe* (2006), p. 160.

1.3.2. Affricates

This category of sounds may ensue from phonological alteration as evinced below:

ⵎⵎ / ll → ⵏⵏ / dj: ⵍⵎⵎⵍ / illi “my daughter” → [ⵍⵏⵏⵍ / idji]

ⵎⵐ / lt → ⵐⵎ / tc: ⵍⵎⵐⵎ / ultma “my sister” → [ⵍⵐⵐⵎ / utcma]

At the graphic level, basic non-affricate underlying forms are preserved to guarantee a maximum of morphological transparency of language units. Affricates are used in writing only if a significant opposition holds between the two units – the affricate and the non-affricate.

ⵏⵏⵏⵏⵐ / ahjjam “hairstresser” vs. ⵏⵏⵏⵏⵐ / ahddjam “tattooing”

ⵐⵍⵏ / hij “to be agitated, bustling” vs. ⵐⵍⵏⵏ / hidj “poison, bitter dish”

1.3.3. Emphatics

The adopted alphabetical system includes basic emphatics: ⵎ / t, ⵎ / d, ⵓ / r, ⵔ / s and ⵙ / z. Emphaticised consonants, where emphasis is not distinctive, are not taken into consideration. In pronunciation, emphaticised consonants usually ensue from adjacency to basic emphatics. For instance, in ⵎⵎⵏ / mḍl (which is phonetically realized as [nnl] due to a double assimilation process that operates on ⵎ / m and ⵎ / d) both ⵎ / m and ⵎ / l are emphaticised owing to their adjacency to the basic emphatic consonant ⵎ / d. In writing, emphaticisation is not graphically rendered. The word will, thereby, be written as ⵎⵎⵏ / mḍl.

The rare cases where emphatic ⵎ / l behaves as a phoneme are borrowings from Arabic or French. In the adopted graphic system, the coronal emphatic lateral consonant will be written as ⵎ / l as in ⵎⵎⵏⵓ / llah “God” and ⵔⵎⵏ / bula “bulb”.

In some very few Amazigh varieties, emphatic ⵏ / j exhibits a minimal pair relationship with non-emphatic ⵏ / j. This opposition is illustrated in the following examples: ⵏⵏⵏ / jju (without emphasis) means “to smell good” while ⵏⵏⵏ / jju (with emphasis) means “to smell bad”.

Emphaticised ⵎ / l and ⵎ / m, on the one hand, and emphatic ⵏ / j, on the other, are not retained in the Amazigh graphic system.

1.3.4. Labiovelars

The two labiovelar consonants $\text{Ḳ}^w / k^w$ and $\text{Ḃ}^w / g^w$ are common in Amazigh; they pervade nearly all the lexicon of Amazigh and are, thereby, retained in the graphic system. Others, namely $\text{Ḳ}^w / x^w$, $\text{Ḃ}^w / \gamma^w$, $\text{Ḳ}^w / q^w$ are admitted in some Amazigh varieties but function as regional variants only. This is why they are not taken into account and are rejected entirely from the graphic system.

1.3.5. Sibilants

We term “sibilance” the phonetic alteration along which $\text{ṯ} / t$ shifts into $\text{Ṱ} / s$ and $\text{Ḍ} / d$ into $\text{Ṱ} / z$.

$\text{ṯ} \circ \text{Ṱ} \circ / \text{tasa}$ “liver” $\rightarrow [\text{Ṱ} \circ \text{Ṱ} \circ] / [\text{sasa}]$

$\text{Ṱ} \wedge \text{Ḍ} / \text{udm}$ “face” $\rightarrow [\text{Ṱ} \text{Ṱ} \text{Ḍ}] / [\text{uzm}]$

It is the basic occlusive forms that are retained in the graphic system. Hence, the two words above will be written as follows: $\text{ṯ} \circ \text{Ṱ} \circ / \text{tasa}$ and $\text{Ṱ} \wedge \text{Ḍ} / \text{udm}$.

1.3.6. Rhotacism

Rhotacism may well be viewed as an alteration of lateral $\text{Ḳ} / l$ into apical $\text{Ṱ} / r$.

$\text{Ṱ} \text{Ḳ} \text{Ṱ} / \text{ils}$ “tongue” $\rightarrow [\text{Ṱ} \text{Ṱ} \text{Ṱ}] / [\text{irs}]$

$\text{Ṱ} \text{Ḳ} \text{Ḳ} / \text{awal}$ “speaking” $\rightarrow [\text{Ṱ} \text{Ḳ} \text{Ṱ}] / [\text{awar}]$

Not unlike the former cases, the original basic form will be retained. The two words $[\text{Ṱ} \text{Ṱ} \text{Ṱ}] / [\text{irs}]$ and $[\text{Ṱ} \text{Ḳ} \text{Ṱ}] / [\text{awar}]$ will, therefore, be written as $\text{Ṱ} \text{Ḳ} \text{Ṱ} / \text{ils}$ and $\text{Ṱ} \text{Ḳ} \text{Ḳ} / \text{awal}$ respectively. Lateral $\text{Ḳ} / l$ may also be mapped onto I / j ($[\text{Ṱ} \text{I} \text{Ḍ}] / [\text{ajim}]$ “hay”, $[\text{Ṱ} \text{I} \text{Ḍ}] / [\text{ajmu}]$ “meadow, grassland”); yet, in writing, the basic lateral $\text{Ḳ} / l$ will be adopted ($\text{Ṱ} \text{Ḳ} \text{Ḍ} / \text{alim}$ and $\text{Ṱ} \text{Ḳ} \text{Ḍ} / \text{almu}$).

In broad terms, the abandoned consonants fall under one of the two categories: consonants with no functional productivity or consonants of narrow localized use.

As regards vowels, the adopted alphabet sidesteps long vowels ensuing from compensatory lengthening in particular contexts ($\text{Ṱ} \circ \text{Ṱ} / \gamma \text{ar}$ “at” $\rightarrow \text{Ṱ} \circ \text{Ṱ} / [\gamma \text{a:}]^6$), as well as the nasalization of final vowels and the dropping of stem-

6- A colon after vowels indicates vowel lengthening.

initial vowels in nouns with initial open syllables (oH:⊙ / afus “hand” → H:⊙ / fus).

1.4. Phonetic processes

In a spoken utterance, sounds are not a sequence of distinct discrete units. Sounds are usually affected by the phonetic units that precede and follow them. This influence triggers a whole range of phonetic alterations. In the remainder of this section, we shall try to get around some of these alterations, such as emphasis spreading and a number of other phonetic accidents.

1.4.1. Assimilation

Assimilation is a phonological process whereby two adjacent sounds influence each other. Below, we shall try to contend with the phenomenon of emphasis spreading as well as place and manner of articulation assimilation.

a. *Emphasis spreading*

In words, emphasis spreads from an emphatic consonant and contaminates adjacent consonants, which appear emphaticised. When such spreading holds, emphasis is realised phonetically in all nearby consonants. In the adopted writing system, the change is observed only on ʈ / t, ʌ / d, ⊙ / s, ʒ / z and ○ / r which shift to ʼ / ʈ, ʼ / d, ʼ / s, ʼ / z and ʼ / r respectively.

ʼʒʒʒ / izzri “sight”

oEoQ / aḍar “foot”

oʒoQ / anzar “rain”

b. *Place and manner of articulation assimilations*

▪ *Partial assimilation*

Two sounds *x* and *y* are said to partially influence each other if one acquires some phonetic feature(s) from the other while some distinctive mismatch is still observed between the two sounds. Under this category of assimilation, point of articulation or manner of articulation features (voicing or voicelessness) are assimilated.

(i) *Voice assimilation*

A voiceless consonant is realised as voiced when adjacent to a voiced consonant:

†ᖆᖆᖆ / tzri “she came around” → [ᖆᖆᖆ] / [dzri]

(ii) *Voicelessness assimilation*

A voiced consonant loses voicing if it abuts against a voiceless consonant.

†ᖆᖆᖆᖆᖆ / tamzdayt “inhabitant” → [†ᖆᖆᖆᖆᖆ] / [tamzdaxt]

(iii) *Point of articulation assimilation*

Under point of articulation assimilation, place of articulation is assimilated from one consonant to a contiguous consonant. A labial consonant, for instance, may become dental if it is adjacent to a dental consonant. A case in point is ᖆ / m which turns into ᖆ / n when adjacent to dental † / t:

†ᖆᖆᖆᖆᖆ / tamment “honey” → [†ᖆᖆᖆᖆᖆ] / [tammnt]

▪ *Total assimilation*

Total assimilation leads to the assimilation of all *x*’s features from a nearby consonant *y*. Under total assimilation, the result is usually a collapse of the two sounds into a single geminate consonant.

(i) *Identical consonants*

When a scenario holds where a consonant is directly followed by an identical consonant, the two identical consonants merge into a single tense consonant (a geminate).

- ᖆᖆᖆ† ᖆᖆᖆᖆᖆᖆ “the house owners” → [ᖆᖆᖆ†ᖆᖆᖆᖆᖆᖆ] († + † → ††)

ayt taddart “the house owners” → [ayttaddart] (t + t → tt)

- ᖆ ᖆᖆᖆᖆ “of Nadia” → [ᖆᖆᖆᖆᖆᖆ] (ᖆ + ᖆ → ᖆᖆ)

n nadya “of Nadia” → [nnadya] (n + n → nn)

- ᖆᖆᖆᖆᖆ “I got out” → [ᖆᖆᖆᖆᖆ] or [ᖆᖆᖆᖆᖆ] (ᖆ + ᖆ → ᖆᖆ or ᖆᖆ)

ffᖆᖆ “I got out” → [ffᖆᖆ] or [ffqq] (ᖆ + ᖆ → ᖆᖆ or qq)

(ii) Different consonants

When two different consonants happen to be adjacent to each other, assimilation may be progressive or regressive.

▪ *Regressive assimilation*

The sound receiving assimilation precedes the sound triggering assimilation:

- ƵƵƵƵ.ɪ ʌ. “They sat here.” → [ƵƵƵƵ.ɪʌʌ] (ɪ + ʌ → ʌʌ)

qqimant da. “They sat here.” → [qqimandda] (t + d → dd)

- ʒII ɪ ʌ.⊙⊙ “one day” → [ʒIIʌʌ.⊙⊙] (ɪ + ʌ → ʌʌ)

ijj n was “one day” → [ijjwwass] (n + w → ww)

- ʒʌʌ. ɣ⊙ ʌɣʒ. “He went to Laayoune.” → [ʒʌʌ.ɣʌʌɣʒ]

(⊙ + ʌ → ʌʌ)

idda ɣr ɫeyun. “He went to Laayoune.” → [iddaɣrɫeyun] (r + ɫ → ɫɫ)

▪ *Progressive assimilation*

Under this sort of assimilation, the sound receiving assimilation follows the sound triggering assimilation:

- ʌ + ɪ → ʌʌ: ɪ.ʌʌʌʌ “the white one” → [ɪ.ʌʌʌʌ]

ɪ + t → ɫt: tamɫɫalt “the white one” → [tamɫɫɫɫ]

- ʒ + ɔ → ʒʒ: ʒ ʒʒʒ “in Azrou” → [ʒʒʒʒʒʒ]

g + u → gg^w: g uʒru “in Azrou” → [gg^wʒru]

1.4.2. Vowel clusters

When two vowels, belonging to two different words, happen to be adjacent to each other, many phonetic alteration scenarios may hold: the resyllabification of high vowels, glide insertion or the collapsing of the two vowels into one vowel.

a. Resyllabification of the high vowels ʒ / i and ɔ / u

In a vowel cluster, the high vowels ʒ / i and ɔ / u are realised phonetically as ʒ / y and ʌ / w.

ⵍⵉ ⵍⵣⵉⵏ. / inna izlan. “He recited some poems.” → [ⵍⵉⵣⵉⵏ] / [innayzlan]

ⵍⵉ ⵍⵣⵉⵏ. / illa uṣmīd. “It is cold.” → [ⵍⵉⵣⵉⵏ] / [illawṣmīd]

ⵍⵉ ⵍⵣⵉⵏ. / idda unbgi. “The guest is gone.” → [ⵍⵉⵣⵉⵏ] / [iddawnbgi]

b. Glide insertion

The palatal semi-vowel ɣ / y is inserted between two adjacent vowels to avoid hiatus:

ⵍⵉ ⵍⵣⵉⵏ. / iga aḥyud. “He is mad.” → [ⵍⵉⵣⵉⵏ] / [igayaḥyud]

ⵍⵉ ⵍⵣⵉⵏ / inna as “he told him / her” → [ⵍⵉⵣⵉⵏ] / [innayas]

ⵍⵉ ⵍⵣⵉⵏ ! / a ul inu ! “Oh, my heart!” → [ⵍⵉⵣⵉⵏ] / [ayulinu]

ⵍⵉ ⵍⵣⵉⵏ ⵍⵣⵉⵏ ! / imnsi aya ! “What a dinner!” → [ⵍⵉⵣⵉⵏ ⵍⵣⵉⵏ] / [imnsiyaya]

ⵍⵉ ⵍⵣⵉⵏ / almu ad “this grassland” → [ⵍⵉⵣⵉⵏ] / [almuyad]

c. Vowel deletion

In a scenario where the final vowel of a transitive verb is identical to the first vowel of a following indirect object pronoun, two possibilities open up: either a palatal glide ɣ / y impinges to break the hiatus of the two identical vowels or the two vowels demote by collapsing into a single vowel.

ⵍⵉ ⵍⵣⵉⵏ / inna as “he told him / her” → [ⵍⵉⵣⵉⵏ] / [innas]

The alterations observed in vowel contact in spoken Amazigh do not obtain in writing. Put in another way, no vowel contraction or glide insertion is observed in writing.

1.4.3 Compensatory lengthening

Compensatory lengthening pervades a whole range of Amazigh varieties. The central thrust of compensatory lengthening is to compensate for the dropped liquid ʀ / r in final and initial positions of the syllable.

◌ᑦᑭᑦᑭ / amyar “chief, father-in-law”	→ [◌ᑦᑦᑭᑦ:] / [amɣa:]
◌ᑭᑦᑭᑦ / ayrum “bread”	→ [◌ᑦᑭᑦᑦ:] / [aɣu:m]

In writing, we reproduce the basic form of the rhotic liquid ᑭ / r in an unscathed fashion and no compensatory lengthening is observed.

TIFINAGHE ALPHABET - ⵉⵏⵓⵎⴰⵢⵜ ⵉⵎⴰⵔⵉⵏ ⵉⵎⴰⵔⵉⵏ⁷

	Tifinaghe	Latin	Arabic	examples
ya	ⵢ	a	أ	ⵢⵏⵓⵎⴰⵢⵜ
yab	ⵢⴰ	b	ب	ⵢⴰⵔⵉⵏⵉⵎⴰⵔⵉⵏ
yag	ⵢⴰⵖ	g	گ	ⵢⴰⵖⵉⵎⴰⵢⵜ
yag ^w	ⵢⴰⵖⵓ	g ^w	گ	ⵢⴰⵖⵓⵙⵉⵔⵉⵏⵉⵎⴰⵔⵉⵏ
yad	ⵢⴰⵔ	d	د	ⵢⴰⵔⵉⵎⴰⵢⵜ
yad	ⵢⴰⵔ	ḍ	ض	ⵢⴰⵔⵉⵎⴰⵢⵜ
yey	ⵢⴰⵢ	e	-	ⵢⴰⵢⵉⵎⴰⵢⵜ
yaf	ⵢⴰⴼ	f	ف	ⵢⴰⴼⵉⵎⴰⵢⵜ
yak	ⵢⴰⴽ	k	ك	ⵢⴰⴽⵉⵎⴰⵢⵜ
yak ^w	ⵢⴰⴽⵓ	k ^w	ك	ⵢⴰⴽⵓⵙⵉⵔⵉⵏⵉⵎⴰⵔⵉⵏ
yah	ⵢⴰⵃ	h	ه	ⵢⴰⵃⵉⵎⴰⵢⵜ
yah	ⵢⴰⵃ	ḥ	ح	ⵢⴰⵃⵉⵎⴰⵢⵜ
yaε	ⵢⴰⵉ	ε	ع	ⵢⴰⵉⵎⴰⵢⵜ
yax	ⵢⴰⵃ	x	خ	ⵢⴰⵃⵉⵎⴰⵢⵜ
yaq	ⵢⴰⵓ	q	ق	ⵢⴰⵓⵎⴰⵢⵜ
yi	ⵢⴰⵢ	i	ي	ⵢⴰⵢⵉⵎⴰⵢⵜ
yaj	ⵢⴰⵢ	j	ج	ⵢⴰⵢⵉⵎⴰⵢⵜ
yal	ⵢⴰⵢ	l	ل	ⵢⴰⵢⵉⵎⴰⵢⵜ
yam	ⵢⴰⵢ	m	م	ⵢⴰⵢⵉⵎⴰⵢⵜ
yan	ⵢⴰⵢ	n	ن	ⵢⴰⵢⵉⵎⴰⵢⵜ
yu	ⵢⴰⵢ	u	و	ⵢⴰⵢⵉⵎⴰⵢⵜ
yar	ⵢⴰⵢ	r	ر	ⵢⴰⵢⵉⵎⴰⵢⵜ
yaṛ	ⵢⴰⵢ	ṛ	ر	ⵢⴰⵢⵉⵎⴰⵢⵜ
yaɣ	ⵢⴰⵢ	ɣ	غ	ⵢⴰⵢⵉⵎⴰⵢⵜ
yas	ⵢⴰⵢ	s	س	ⵢⴰⵢⵉⵎⴰⵢⵜ
yaş	ⵢⴰⵢ	ş	ص	ⵢⴰⵢⵉⵎⴰⵢⵜ
yac	ⵢⴰⵢ	c	ش	ⵢⴰⵢⵉⵎⴰⵢⵜ

7- Official Tifinaghe Alphabet Table as advocated by the Language Planning Centre (CAL), IRCAM.

yat	†	t	ت	†%○○ 。
yaṭ	Ǝ	ṭ	ط	†٪ƎƎ
yaw	⊏	w	و	。⊏。Ⓜ
yay	ƶ	y	ي	。٪٪٪⊙
yaz	✱	z	ز	。⊏。✱٪Ƴ
yaẓ	✱	ẓ	ز	٪✱٪

Spelling rules

Table 1: paradigm of pronouns affixed to kinship nouns

	Masculine		Feminine	
Sing.	፩.፩. / baba	“my father”	፩.፩. / baba	“my father”
	፩.፩.፳ / babak	“your father”	፩.፩.፳ / babam	“your father”
	፩.፩.፳ / babas	“his father”	፩.፩.፳ / babas	“her father”
Plr.	፩.፩.ተሃ / babatny	“our father”	፩.፩.ተሃ / babatny	“our father”
	፩.፩.ተ፲(፲፫) / babatun (wm)	“your father”	፩.፩.ተ፲(፲፫) / babatunt (wmt)	“your father”
	፩.፩.ተ፳ / babatsn	“their father”	፩.፩.ተ፳ / babatsnt	“their father”

▪ *A quality noun along with its morphological markers of:*

- gender (፬፬፬ / awray (masc.) “yellow” - ተ፬፬፬ / tawrayt (fem.))
- number (፳፬፬፬ / iwayn (masc. plr.) - ተ፳፬፬፬ / tiwayin (fem. plr.))
- state (፬፬፬ / uway (CS masc. sing.) - ተ፬፬፬ / twrayt (CS fem. sing)).

▪ *A verb along with its:*

- person markers: ፳፻ / usiy “I took”, ተ፳፻ / tusid “You took”, ፳፻ / yusi “He took”, ፲፻ / nusi “We took”
- derivational morphemes:
 - the causative morpheme: ፳፻፳ / ssufy “to go out+ caus.”, ፳፻፳፳ / sskcm “to get in + caus.”, ፳፻፳፳ / ssidf “to get in + caus.”, ፳፻፳፳ / ssukf “to uproot”;
 - the reciprocal morpheme: ፳፻፳፳፳ / myussan “to know + recip.”, ፳፻፳፳፳ / msifi፳ “to send + recip. = to see off each other”, ተ፳፻፳፳ / ttmyafa, “to find + recip. + passive”, ፳፻፳፳፳ / mzaray “to exceed + recip.”;
 - the passive morpheme: ተ፳፻፳፳፳ / ttuyissn “to know + passive”, ተ፳፻፳፳፳ / ttwakks “to remove + passive”, ተ፳፻፳፳፳ / ttyikks “to remove + passive”.

- aspect markers:

- Prefixed: ᠲᠲᠠᠨ / ttawi “to take”, ᠲᠲᠢᠨ / ttini “to say”
- Infix: ᠵᠳᠳᠠ / zddy “to dwell”, ᠰᠰᠠᠶ / ssay “to buy”, ᠰᠢᠷ / skar “to do”, ᠬᠢᠷᠵ / krrz “to plow”

A typographical blank space holds between the verb and other potential grammatical elements that might precede or follow it, provided that the grammatical elements constitute themselves autonomous graphic words. Such grammatical elements are, among others, pronominal complements (pre-posed and post-posed) as well as aspect, orientation, negation and interrogation particles.

ᠮᠤᠯᠢᠶ ᠠᠰᠨ ᠲᠤ / mliᠶ asn t.	“I have shown it to them.”
ᠶᠡᠨᠠᠭ ᠲᠲᠢ ᠶᠡᠳᠡ / iwin tt id.	“They have brought it.”
ᠰᠢᠷ ᠠ ᠠᠭᠠᠨᠠᠳᠢᠨᠲᠤ / ur d ddint.	“They have not come.”
$\text{ᠰᠢᠷ ᠲᠲᠢ ᠶᠡᠳᠡᠨᠠᠭ ᠲᠲᠢ ᠶᠡᠳᠡᠨᠠᠭ}$ / ur tnt id iwint.	“They have not brought them.”

▪ *The participle is considered as a graphic word along with:*

- its causative, reciprocal and passive derivational morphemes:

- causative: ᠶᠡᠰᠰᠠᠭᠤᠨ / issufyn “getting out + caus.”, ᠶᠡᠰᠰᠠᠭᠤᠨ / isskcmn “getting in + caus.”, ᠶᠡᠰᠰᠠᠭᠤᠨ / issidfn “getting in + caus.”;
- reciprocal: ᠮᠤᠶᠤᠰᠤᠨᠠᠨ / myussanin “knowing + recip.”, ᠮᠤᠰᠠᠪᠠᠨᠠᠨ / msawalnin “speaking + recip”;
- passive: ᠶᠡᠰᠰᠠᠭᠤᠨ / ittyussnn “knowing + passive”, ᠶᠡᠰᠰᠠᠭᠤᠨ / ittwakksn “removing + passive”.

- its aspect markers:

- prefixed: ᠲᠲᠠᠨ / ittawin “taking”, ᠲᠲᠢᠨ / ittinin “saying”;
- infix: ᠵᠳᠳᠠ / izddyn “dwelling”, ᠰᠰᠠᠶ / issayn “buying”, ᠰᠢᠷ / iskarn “doing”.

- its markers of agreement in number:

- ᠶᠡᠬᠡᠨ / iddan - ᠶᠡᠬᠡᠨ / ddanin “going”
- ᠶᠡᠬᠡᠨ / iffyn - ᠶᠡᠬᠡᠨ / ffynin “going out”

▪ *Direct and indirect object pronouns:*

They are always written as separated units from the verbs they precede or follow:

ጸፂ፻፶ ሰ. / zṛiy tn.	“I have seen them.”
፻፬ ሰ ጸፂ፻፶. / ur tn zṛiy.	“I have not seen them.”
፳፻ ፻፬ ! / ml asn !	“Show them!”
፻፬ ፻፬ ፳፻. / ad asn mly.	“I will show them.”

▪ *Independent pronouns:*

ሰተተ ፻፬ ጸፂ፻፶. / nttat ad zṛiy. “It is she that I have seen.”

▪ *Proximity, remoteness and absence demonstratives:*

፻፲፻፳ ፻፬ / ajjig ad - ፻፲፻፳ ፻ / ajjig a - ፻፲፻፳ ፻ / ajjig u “this flower”

፻፲፻፳ ፻፬ / ajjig ann - ፻፲፻፳ ፻፬ / ajjig inn “that flower”

፻፲፻፳ ፻፻፻ / ajjig lli - ፻፲፻፳ ፻፻፻ / ajjig nni - ፻፲፻፳ ፻፻፻ / ajjig nna “the flower in question”

▪ *The preposition:*

The preposition stands as a graphic word by itself. It is, thereby, separated from the noun it governs by a blank space.

፻ ፻፻፻፻ / s uḍar	“on foot / with the foot”
፶፬ ፻፻፻፻፻፻፻ / yr xnifra	“to Khenifra”
፻፻ ፻፻፻፻፻፻ / zi miḍar	“from Midar”
፻፻፻ ፻፻፻፻፻፻፻፻ / xf tnakra	“on the mat”

Yet, when the preposition is followed by an objective pronoun, no blank space is tolerated between the two units. The preposition and the pronoun are conjoined into a single graphic word.

፶፻፻፻ / yurs	“at his / her house”
፻፻፻፻፻ / digs	“in him / her”
፻፻፻፻ / dari	“in my house, at home+”

▪ *Adverbs:*

Irrespective of its semantic value, the adverb stands as a single graphic word surrounded by two typographical blank spaces (ΛΥΞ / dyi, ΞΓοИ / imal, Λο / da, ЖΛο† / zdat, ΘΘο / ssa, ΙοΙ / jaj, ΓοΙΞ / mani, ...).

▪ *Interrogatives:*

ΞΘ ΞΥΟο? / is iyra ?	“Did he study?”
Γο †ИИΥ? / ma tffy ?	“Did she go out?”

▪ *Negative particles:*

οο ΛΛΞΙ. / ur ddin.	“They (masc.) did not go.”
οο ИИΞΥ†. / ur ffiynt.	“They (fem.) did not go out.”

▪ *Aspectuals:*

οΖΖο ΘοΠοИ. / aqqa sawaln.	“They are talking.”
Λο ΞΘΘοΥ ΞΘИΓοΙ. / da issay islman.	“He usually buys fish.”
οΛ οΠΞΙ οΓοΙ. / ad awin aman.	“They will bring water.”

▪ *Pre-posed and post-posed orientation particles (Λ / d - И / nn):*

οΠΞ Λ ! / awi d !	“Bring (here)!”
οΠΞ И ! / aw inn !	“Take (there)!”
οο Λ ΞΞΠΞ ΞΛΟΞΓΙ. / ur d yiwi idrimn.	“He did not bring money.”
οο И ΞΞΠΞ ΞΛΟΞΓΙ. / ur nn yiwi idrimn.	“He did not take money (there).”

▪ *The predicative particle Λ / d:*

Λ οΘΘΛοΙ ! / d aşbhan !	“It is nice / beautiful!”
Λ Ι††ο†. / d nttat.	“It is her / she.”
οο Λ οΘοΞΛ ο. / ur d abrid a.	“Not this way.”
ΞΘ Λ ο.ЖИИο ? / is d azkka ?	“Is it tomorrow?”

▪ *Conjunctions (Γο / mr, ΓИο / mla, ΓοΟο / mara, ΞΧ / ig, ΞΥ / iy):*

Γο ΞΘΘΞΙ, ΞΘ Λ ΞΛΛο.

mr issin, is d idda.

“If he knew, he would come.”

▪ *Vocatives:*

◦ ተ.ርዓ.ዐተ ! / a tamyart ! “Hey, woman!”

▪ *Morphemes of presentation:*

ዐ. ረገጽጸገገገ. / ha inbgiwn. “Here are the guests.”

▪ *Lexicalised words introduced by* ፀ። / bu, ርር። / mmu, ር። / mu, ር / m, ። / u, ።ዘተ / ult, ጸጸ። / gg^w, ።፻ተ / ayt, etc.:

ፀ።ተ.ጸ.ተ / butagant	“boar”
ፀ።ተ.ባዢ. / buərfa	“Bouarfa” (toponym)
ር።ጽግ።ጽገገ / miclifr	“Michlifen” (toponym)
።፻ተ.ር. / aytma	“those (masc.) of / those belonging to my mother = my brothers”

When the string is not a lexicalised sequence, a blank space surfaces between the noun and the preceding element.

ዐ.ገገገ ። ፀ። ተጸጸጸ. sawly i bu tgmimi. “I talked to the owner of the house.”
ዓዐ ። ዘ.ዘ ገ ።ጸጸ.ር. yr i lal n uxxam. “Call the housewife.”
ር ተ።።።.ገገገ m titṭawin “the woman with beautiful eyes”

▪ *Quantifiers:*

።ጸጸገ ገ ተ።ዓዐ።ጽገገ / azgn n tuyrift	“half of a loaf of bread”
።።።.ፀ ገ ።ገገገ. / aṭṭaṣ n iwdan	“many people”
ተ።ጸተ ገ ር።ጸጸገ / tugt n middn	“most people”
።ር.ተ. ገ ።ጸ።።።።ገ / amata n ierrimn	“most young people”

Should the quantifier have a pronominal complement, the latter surfaces as an independent graphic word.

።።።.ፀ ገ።።። / aṭṭaṣ nnsn	“most of them”
ተ።ጸተ ገ።።። / tugt nnsn	“the majority of them”
።ር.ተ. ገ።።። / amata nnsn	“the majority of them”

2. Schwa writing rules

In writing, schwa, dubbed also the neutral vowel, is only resorted to foil the attempt to create a sequence of strictly adjacent identical consonants. Using the schwa in writing is, thereby, essentially necessitated in the following situations:

a. A sequence of more than two identical root consonants coexisting in a word:

ΛΛΛ◌ / dllel	“to sell by putting up for auction”
ΛCC◌ / dmmem	“to implore”
Λ◌◌◌ / fzzēz	“to chew”

b. Prefixation of the person marker †- / t- to verbal stems containing an initial †† / tt provided that the initial †† / tt is:

▪ *part of a stem:*

††◌ / ttu	>	†◌††◌ / tettū
“to forget”		“She forgot.”

▪ *an imperfective aspect marker:*

††◌◌ / ttawi	>	†◌††◌◌ / tettawi
“to bring, to take”		“she usually brings / takes”

▪ *a passive tense marker:*

††◌◌◌ / ttyakar	>	†◌††◌◌◌ / tettyakr
“to be stolen, to be robbed”		“she was stolen / robbed”

Let it be known that there are extreme cases where the †† / tt belonging to the root, the person marker † / t and the imperfective aspect marker †† / tt abut against each other, as laid out in the example below:

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Imperfective</u>	<u>Imperfective 3rd pers. (fem. sing.)</u>
††◌ / ttu	††◌††◌ / ttettu	†◌††◌††◌ / tettettu

To obviate such undesired forms (i.e. †◌††◌††◌ / tettettu), truncation of the first consonant is resorted to, and the output looks as follows:

††◌††◌ / ttettu (in place of †◌††◌††◌ / tettettu)

c. Verbal stems finishing with two identical consonants:

The insertion of schwa in such stems is essentially necessitated so as to obviate the gemination of the two adjacent identical stem consonants (*cf. 1.1*).

CHAPTER 3

The noun and the noun phrase

1. Noun formation

A noun is a lexical unit made up of a root and a stem. It can take a simple form (ⵓⵔⵗⵎ / argaz “man”, ⵏⵓⵔⵓ / adlis “book”, ⵜⵓⵎⵓⵔⵜ / tamurt “land, ground”), a compound form (ⵓⵔⵙⵓⵢⵓⵔ / buhyyuf “hunger”, ⵓⵔⵙⵓⵢⵓⵔⵜ / butxutam “annular”) or a derived form (ⵓⵔⵎⵓⵔⵏ / aslmd “teaching”, ⵔⵓⵢⵓⵎⵓ / iyimi “stay”, ⵏⵓⵔⵓⵢⵓⵔⵏ / amsawad “communication”).

A noun may vary depending on its gender (ⵏⵓⵔⵓⵢⵓⵔⵏ / amḥḍar “a pupil, masc.”, ⵜⵓⵔⵓⵢⵓⵔⵏⵜ / tamḥḍart “a pupil, fem.”), number (ⵏⵓⵔⵓⵢⵓⵔⵏ / amḥḍar, sing. - ⵔⵓⵢⵓⵎⵓⵔⵏ / imḥḍarṇ, plr.) and state (ⵏⵓⵔⵓⵢⵓⵔⵏ / amḥḍar, FS - ⵔⵓⵢⵓⵎⵓⵔⵏ / umḥḍar, CS).

1.1 Gender

Two gender types are recognised: masculine and feminine. In general, the feminine form gets its shape from the masculine form.

We recognise two gender types:

- a. Natural gender, which is inextricably related to the semantic content of the noun in the sense of distinguishing between a “male” and a “female”, is usually used for sexed creatures such as human beings and animals.
- b. Grammatical gender relies on the grammatical formal properties portrayed by the gender morphological markers.

With regard to borrowings from other languages such as Arabic, the borrowed nouns preserve their original gender while receiving the Amazigh feminine markers.

Semantically, feminine nouns devoid of feminine morphological markers are identified as feminine nouns on the basis of the agreement that holds between the noun and the verb in a sentence.

a. Masculine nouns

Masculine nouns are, in general, preceded by one of the following vowels:
 ◦ / a, ʕ / i or ◦ / u. The nouns that start by the vowel ◦- / a- make the majority of nouns:

◦Ḥ◦◦ / afus	“hand”
◦E◦Q / aḍar	“foot”
◦Θ◦ΞΛ / abrid	“way, path”
◦Ḥ / ul	“heart”
◦Λ◦ / udm	“face”
ΞXḤ / ixḥ	“head”
ΞḤ◦ / ils	“tongue”

In parallel to the vowel-initial class, another class consists of consonant-initial nouns:

Ḥ◦Ḥ / laḥ	“hunger”
Ḥ◦Λ / fad	“thirst”
◦ΞΛΛ / middn	“people”
Θ◦E◦E / baḍaḍ	“love”

As a general rule, vowel-initial nouns are categorised as masculine nouns. Yet, exceptions to this rule are well admitted:

Ξ◦◦◦ / imma	“mum”
ΞḤḤ / illi	“(my) daughter”
◦Ḥ+◦◦ / ultma	“(my) sister”

It is not an oddity for the masculine form which is derived from a feminine base to express an augmentative value:

†ΞX◦◦ / tiggmi	“house”	ΞX◦◦ / iggmi	“big house”
†◦ΛΛ◦◦ / taddart	“house”	◦ΛΛ◦◦ / addar	“big house”
†◦◦◦◦ / tamart	“beard”	◦◦◦◦ / amar	“big beard”

It is also not untypical of the masculine nouns that are derived from feminine nouns to have a derogatory meaning; especially if there is talk of sexed beings.

ተ.ፀ.ፀተ / tanburt	“spinster”	ፀ.ፀ.ፀ / anbur	“mannish spinster (derogatory)”
ተ.ፈ.ፈተ / tadgalt	“widow”	ፀ.ፈ.ፈ / adgal	“a woman with bad reputation”
ተ.ፎ.ፎ.ፎተ / tamፑፑፑ	“woman”	ፀ.ፎ.ፎ.ፎ / amፑፑፑ	“mannish woman”

There are masculine nouns that have no feminine form.

ፀ.፳.ፀ / anፑar	“rain”
ፀ.፳.፳ / adfl	“snow”
ፀ.ፎ.ፈ / amud	“seed”
፳ፑፀፀ (፳፳ፀፀ) / iyss (ixss)	“bone”

b. Feminine nouns

The circumfix ተ...ተ / ተ...ተ expresses feminineness. To yield a feminine noun, the circumfix, more often than not, flanks the stem of the noun.

ፀ.፳.ፀ / agmar	“horse”	ተ.ፀ.፳.ፀተ / tagmart	“mare”
፳ፀ፳ / isli	“groom”	ተ.፳ፀ፳ተ / tislit	“bride”
፳ፎፆ / uccn	“wolf”	ተ.፳ፎፆተ / tucnt	“wolf (fem.)”

A number of feminine nouns take either the initial or the final ተ / ተ of the feminine circumfix morpheme ተ...ተ / ተ...ተ, as set out below.

ተ.፳.፳ / tadla	“bunch”
ተ.፳.፳ / tawla	“fever”
፳፳፳፳ተ / ፑፑፑፑ	“tiredness”

As for other nouns, feminineness is evinced by lexical opposition. Put in another way, feminine nouns are not directly formed on the basis of a masculine stem.

፳፳፳ፀ / ayyis	“horse”	→	ተ.ፀ.፳.ፀተ / tagmart	“mare”
፳፳፳፳ / memmi	“(my) son”	→	፳፳፳፳ / illi	“(my) daughter”
ፀ.ፀ.ፀ / baba	“(my) father”	→	፳፳፳፳ / ፳፳፳. // immi / imma	“(my) mother”
፳ፀ፳፳ / ismg	“slave”	→	ተ.፳.፳፳፳ / tawayya	“slave (fem.)”

(i). *Diminutive, meliorative and collective nouns*

Nouns in feminine form may denote diminutiveness.

፳ተዐ፳ / itri	“star”	→	ተ፳ተዐ፳ተ / titrit	“small star”
ዐዢ፡ፍ / afus	“hand”	→	ተዐዢ፡ፍተ / tafust	“small hand”
ዐይዐ / aḍar	“foot”	→	ተዐይዐተ / taḍart	“small foot”

The diminutive form may express an appreciative function.

ዐዢ፡ፍ / afus	“hand”	→	ተዐዢ፡ፍተ / tafust	“cuffs”
ዐረፍ / aqmu	“mouth”	→	ተዐረፍተ / taqmut	“small mouth”

The feminine form may also refer to a unit noun, and thereby stands in a tangential relationship with its corresponding masculine form which refers to a collective noun. This phenomenon holds, most influentially, when the nouns belong to the fauna and flora domains.

ዐጼ፡፳፻ / aḥalim	“onion”	→	ተዐጼ፡፳፻ተ / taḥalimt	“an onion”
ዐጸ፡፳ / argan	“argan ”	→	ተዐጸ፡፳ተ / targant	“an argan tree”
ጸ፻ጼ፡፳ / xizzu	“carrots”	→	ተዐጸ፻ጼ፡፳ተ / taxizzut	“a carrot”
ዐ፳፡፳፻ / asngar	“corn”	→	ተዐ፳፡፳፻ተ / tasngart	“an ear of corn”

The feminine form may also refer to an action carried out by an agent, a physical or moral quality, or a (geographical, cultural, ethnic ...) origin or affiliation.

ዐጸ፡፳፻ / amxxar	“thief”	→	ተዐጸ፡፳፻ተ / tamxxart	“thief (fem.)”
ዐጸ፡፳፻፡፳ / amgg ^w ad	“coward”	→	ተ፳፻፡፳፻፡፳ተ / tiggg ^w dt	“fear”
ዐሃ፡፳፻ / ayzaf	“big, tall”	→	ተ፳ሃ፡፳፻ / tiyzi	“length”

(ii). *The feminine form of nouns preceded by ፡- / u-, ፡፻- / bu-, ዐ፻ተ- / ayt-*

Nouns of concern here are the ones preceded by the morpheme (፡፻- / bu- “the one with / owning”) that expresses belonging or by the morphemes

(ⵟ- / u-, ⵟⵙⵜ- / ayt- “the one / those belonging to, depending of”) that express affiliation.

ⵟⵙⵜ ⵍⵎⵎⵓⵎⵉ / bu iḥllaln	“liar”	→	ⵎⵍⵎⵎⵓⵎⵉ / m iḥllaln	“liar (fem.)”
ⵟⵙⵜ ⵎⵓⵙⵓⵔⵓⵜ / u tmaziyt	“compatriot”	→	ⵟⵙⵜ ⵎⵓⵙⵓⵔⵓⵜ / ult tmaziyt	“compatriot (fem.)”
ⵟⵙⵜ ⵟⵓⵝⵓⵎ / ayt uxxam	“family members”	→	ⵍⵓⵙⵜ ⵟⵓⵝⵓⵎ / ist uxxam	“the house- wives”

c. Nouns with a single gender

Amazigh recognises a class of nouns that have only one gender, masculine or feminine.

ⵟⵙⵜⵓⵕ / anẓar	“rain”
ⵟⵙⵜⵉⵎ / adfl	“snow”
ⵟⵙⵜⵉⵎ / akal	“ground, land”
ⵜⵓⵙⵓⵔⵓⵜ / tawiza	“collective work»
ⵜⵓⵙⵓⵔⵓⵜ / tawja	“family”
ⵜⵓⵙⵓⵔⵓⵜ / taḍa	“alliance pact”

1.2. Number

Amazigh nouns recognise two forms: singular and plural. It should also be noted that Amazigh nouns, not unlike most other languages, agree with verbs in number (*cf.* 8.1.b).

Under the plural form, nouns may take a variety of shapes depending on the kind of morphological alterations they are subject to. These alterations are set out below.

- Singular nouns initial vowel alteration;
- vowel alteration coupled with the suffixation of the plural marker -l / -n or one of its variants; this sort of plural form is conventionally termed *regular* plural;
- phonetic alterations observed in the singular noun stem; this sort of plural is dubbed the *broken* plural;
- two or three of the above processes conjoined in a single package in the plural form of the noun; this type is labelled *mixed* plural.

a. Regular plural

Under this category, nouns exhibit initial vowel alteration wedded with the affixation of -l / -n or one of its variants (-ḡl / -in, -o / -an, -oḡl / -ayn, -ll / -wn, -o ll / -awn, -ll o / -wan, -ll ḡl / -win, -tl / -tn, -ḡḡl / -yin).

To generate the plural form, vowel initial singular nouns, most influentially those with an initial o- / a-, undergo an alteration whereby the initial vowel is shifted to ḡ- / i-.

While the o- / a- initial nouns may sporadically keep their initial vowel in the plural form, the nouns with initial ɔ- / u- foil the attempt to undergo any change whatsoever when they are mapped on their plural form. As for nouns with initial ḡ- / i-, they rarely undergo any change.

As a general rule, the initial vowel alteration is accompanied by the suffixation of the plural marker -l / -n or one of its variants, depending on whether the noun is masculine or feminine.

(i). o- / a- // ḡ- / i- alternation

This alternation obtains in most nouns. It is not untypical of feminine nouns undergoing this process to exhibit an -ḡ- / -i- just after the first element t- / t- of the circumfix t... (t) / t ... (t).

oḡḡḡḡ / adlis	“book”	→	ḡḡḡḡḡ / idlisn	“books”
oEoQ / aḡar	“foot”	→	ḡEoQl / iḡarḡn	“feet”
t.oḡḡḡḡḡ / taḡnjirt	“girl”	→	tḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ / tiḡnjirin	“girls”

(ii). o- / a- // ḡ- / i- alternation along with the suffixation of -l / -n or one of its variants (-ḡl / -in, -(o)ll / -(a)wn, -(ḡ)ll / -(i)wn, -ḡl / -yn, -tl / -tn).

oḡḡḡḡ / aḡnjir	“boy”	→	ḡḡḡḡḡ / iḡnjirn	“boys”
ɔOo / urar	“game, feast”	→	ɔOo / urarn	“games, feasts”
t.oEo. / tabrat	“letter”	→	tḡEo.oḡḡ / tibratin	“letters”
ḡXḡ / ixḡ	“head”	→	ḡXḡ.o ll / ixḡawn	“heads”
ḡḡC / izm	“lion”	→	ḡḡC.o ll / izmawn	“lions”
o ll o / awal	“talk”	→	ḡ ll oḡḡ / iwaliwn	“talks”
o l oḡḡ / anbgī	“guest”	→	ḡ l oḡḡḡ / inbgīwn	“guests”
oḡOo / ayḡda	“mouse”	→	ḡḡOoḡḡ / iḡḡdayn	“mice”
oC l ḡḡ / amnyī	“dispute”	→	ḡC l ḡḡḡ / imnyitn	“disputes”

b. Broken plural

Further to the initial vocalic alternation *o-* / *a-* // *ξ-* / *i-*, the plural form may also exhibit stem-internal vowel shifts. When such plural form holds, no suffixation process is resorted to.

◌Λ◌◌◌ / adrar	“mountain”	→	ξΛ◌◌◌ / idurar	“mountains”
◌Θ◌Υ◌◌ / abayus	“monkey”	→	ξΘ◌Υ◌◌ / ibuyas	“monkeys”
◌X◌Λξ◌ / agadir	“wall, castle”	→	ξX◌Λ◌◌ / igudar	“walls, castles”
◌X◌◌ξ◌ / agartil	“mat”	→	ξX◌◌◌ / agartil	“mats”
◌ξ◌Υ◌◌ / tiymas	“tooth”	→	◌ξ◌Υ◌◌ / tiymas	“teeth”
◌X◌◌X / azmz	“time”	→	ξX◌◌X / izmaz	“times”
◌◌◌E◌ / amaḍun	“ill person”	→	ξ◌◌E◌ / imuḍan	“ill people”

c. Mixed plural (suffixation and internal vocalic alteration)

The mixed plural form may well be created by an internal and / or final alteration of the noun stem vowel(s) as well as by the affixation of *-l* / *-n*.

ξ◌ξ / ili	“part”	→	ξ◌◌ / ilan	“parts”
ξXξ◌ / izikr	“rope”	→	ξX◌◌ / izakarn	“ropes”
◌◌◌ / urtu	“orchard”	→	◌◌◌ / urtan	“orchards”
◌◌◌ / uccn	“jackal”	→	◌◌◌ / uccann	“jackals”
◌X◌ / ugl	“tooth”	→	◌X◌ / uglan	“teeth”

Sometimes, when the initial vowel is changed, a concomitant alteration obtains on the medial and final vowels.

◌◌◌ / amalu	“shade”	→	ξ◌◌◌ / imula	“shades”
◌Υ◌◌◌ / aybalu	“spring”	→	ξΥ◌◌◌ / iybula	“springs”
◌◌X◌◌◌ / amggaru	“the last (sing.)”	→	ξ◌X◌◌◌ / imggura	“the last (plr.)”

d. Plural of nouns preceded by ɔ- / u- and ɔlt- / ult-

Sing.	Gloss		Plr.
ɔ̌ + ʈʌ.ʈʂɔ̌ + / u tmazirt	“fellow citizen (masc.)”	→	ɔ̌ʂ + ʈʌ.ʈʂɔ̌ + / ayt tmazirt
ɔ̌lt + ʈʌ.ʈʂɔ̌ + / ult tmazirt	“fellow citizen (fem.)”	→	ɔ̌ʈ + ʈʌ.ʈʂɔ̌ + / ist tmazirt

e. The plural with ɔ̌ʌ / id

Under this category, singular nouns take a pre-nominal morpheme ɔ̌ʌ / id to shape their plural form. Nouns belonging to this category may be set out as follows: proper nouns, kinship nouns, compound nouns, numerals and some consonant-initial nouns. To this category, we can also add some borrowed nouns which may well be viewed to have integrated the morphology of the Amazigh language.

ʈʂʊʊ.ʌ / murren	“strapping person”	→	ɔ̌ʌ ʈʂʊʊ.ʌ / id murren	“strapping people”
ʈʂʊ.ʈʂɔ̌ʈ / Brahim	“Brahim”	→	ɔ̌ʌ ʈʂʊ.ʈʂɔ̌ʈ / id Brahim	“The Brahims”
ʈʂʊʂʊ. / butgra	“turtle”	→	ɔ̌ʌ ʈʂʊʂʊ. / id butgra	“turtles”
ʈʂʊʂʊ.ʈ / butagant	“wild boar”	→	ɔ̌ʌ ʈʂʊʂʊ.ʈ / id butagant	“wild boars”
ʈʂʊ ɔ̌ʈʂʊ.ʌ / bu islman	“fish merchant”	→	ɔ̌ʌ ʈʂʊ ɔ̌ʈʂʊ.ʌ / id bu islman	“fish merchants”
ʈʂʊ ɔ̌ʂʊʈ / m ufus	“one-armed woman”	→	ɔ̌ʌ ʈʂʊ ɔ̌ʂʊʈ / id m ufus	“one-armed women”
ʈʂʊ.ʈʂʌʈʈʈʈʈ / bab n tgm̄mi	“house owner”	→	ɔ̌ʌ ʈʂʊ.ʈʂʌʈʈʈʈʈ / id bab n tgm̄mi	“house owners”
ʈʂʊʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈ / lal n ux̄xam	“housewife”	→	ɔ̌ʌ ʈʂʊʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈ / id lal n ux̄xam	“housewives”
ʈʂʊʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈ / war laman	“traitor”	→	ɔ̌ʌ ʈʂʊʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈ / id war laman	“traitors”
ʈʂʊʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈ / tar laman	“traitor (fem.)”	→	ɔ̌ʌ ʈʂʊʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈ / id tar laman	“traitors (fem.)”
ʈʂʊʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈ / xali	“uncle (my)”	→	ɔ̌ʌ ʈʂʊʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈʈ / id xali	“my uncles”

ⵍⵔⵓⵎ / mraw	“ten”	→	ⵍⵓⵎ ⵍⵔⵓⵎ / id mraw	“tens”
ⵏⵡⵉ / alf	“thousand”	→	ⵍⵓⵎ ⵏⵡⵉ / id walf	“thousands”
ⵍⵕⵓⵎⵉⵙ / lkamyu	“lorry”	→	ⵍⵓⵎ ⵍⵕⵓⵎⵉⵙ / id lkamyu	“lorries”

f. The plural form of integrated borrowed nouns

Borrowings which abide by the laws of Amazigh morphology are labelled integrated borrowings. The borrowings which fall under this category map their plural form in the same fashion in which Amazigh nouns map their plural forms. Non-integrated borrowings keep their original plural form or take the pre-posed morpheme ⵍⵓⵎ / id.

ⵏⵓⵍⵉⵎ / adrim	“coin (money)”	→	ⵍⵓⵎ ⵏⵓⵍⵉⵎ / idrimn	“money”
ⵜⵓⵍⵓⵍⵉⵚⵜ / tawriqt	“a sheet (paper)”	→	ⵜⵍⵓⵍⵓⵍⵉⵚⵜ / tiwriqin	“sheets (paper)”
ⵏⵉⵕⵓⵎⵉⵙⵉⵙ / afmliiy	“a nurse (masc.)”	→	ⵍⵓⵎ ⵏⵉⵕⵓⵎⵉⵙⵉⵙ / ifmliyn	“nurses (masc.)”
ⵏⵉⵓⵕⵓⵎⵉⵙⵉⵙ / abukadyu	“sandwich”	→	ⵍⵓⵎ ⵏⵉⵓⵕⵓⵎⵉⵙⵉⵙⵜ / ibukadyutn	“sandwiches”
ⵍⵕⵓⵎⵉⵙⵉⵙ / lḥmmam	“steam bath”	→	ⵍⵓⵎ ⵍⵕⵓⵎⵉⵙⵉⵙⵜ / lḥmmamat	“steam baths”

g. Nouns in singular or plural form only

A whole range of nouns do not have more than one number specification. They surface as singular nouns or as plural nouns only. Other nouns derive their singular form from different roots.

(i) Singular nouns with no plural form

ⵍⵓⵙ / laṣ	“hunger”
ⵍⵓⵎ / fad	“thirst”
ⵍⵓⵎⵓⵜ / lmut	“death”
ⵜⵓⵕⵓⵎⵉⵙⵉⵙ / takrza	“ploughing”
ⵓⵎⵉⵙⵉⵙ / ⵜⵓⵕⵓⵎⵉⵙⵉⵙ - baḍaḍ / tayri	“love”

(ii) *Plural nouns with no singular form*

◦□◦ aman	“water”
ႁႃ◦□□ idammn	“blood”
ႁႃႃႃ □ႁႃႃႃ - iwdan / middn	“people”

h. Nouns whose plural form is lexically different from their counterparts in the singular form

†ႁႃႃႃႃ tisitan	“cows”	→	†ႃႃႃႃႃႃ tafunast	“cow”
†ႁႃႃႃႃ tiyallin	“mares”	→	†ႃႃႃႃႃႃ tagmart	“a mare”
†ႁႃႃႃႃ tisdnan	“women”	→	†ႃႃႃႃႃႃ tamႃႃႃႃႃ	“a woman”

1.3. State: free vs. construct

State opposition (*free state* vs. *construct state*) may well be viewed to fall under inflectional morphology since grammatical category does not change when nouns move from the free to the construct state. This phenomenon is replete in the lexicon. Under this phenomenon, the first syllable of a noun is morpho-phonologically affected if it meets the conditions necessary for the formation of the construct state.

Nouns subject to this rule are basically vowel-initial (◦- / a-, ႁ- / i-, ◦- / u-) masculine nouns. Consonant-initial nouns, no matter how and where they appear, never exhibit state opposition. Conversely, feminine nouns, when preceded by an initial consonant † / t, undergo the changes exercised by the construct state by dropping the vowel that comes after the first segment of the circumfix †...† / t ... t.

a. Free State

Under the free state, the initial vowel of a masculine noun evinces no modification whatsoever. The same display holds also for the vowel that follows the marker † / t in feminine nouns.

◦ႃႃႃ argaz	“man”
ႁႃႃ izm	“lion”

ዕዐተ። / urtu	“orchard”
ተ.ፎዕተ / tamurt	“land, country”
ተ፭ዘ፭፭፭ / tifiyyi	“meat”
ተ።ዕዕ. / tussna	“knowledge, culture”

Generally, nouns take the free state form when they are isolated. In non-isolated contexts, nouns may take the free or the construct state form depending on syntactic position. The contexts in which nouns appear in the free state in non-isolated contexts are laid out below:

- *After a vocative, a deictic of presentation or an interrogative pronoun*

ዕ. ተ.ፎዕተ ! / a tamyart !	“Hey, woman!”
ዕ. ፭ዐፀ. ! / a irban !	“Hey, children!”
ፎ. ።፭፭. / ha ayyur.	“Here is the moon.”
ፎ. ለ. ።ዕዘፎ. / ha nn aslmad.	“There is the teacher.”
ፎ. ለ. ።ዕጸ. / ha nn uskay.	“There is the greyhound.”
ዕ. ።ዕዘፎ. / aqa aslmad.	“Here is the teacher.”
ፎ. ለ. ፭ዘ፭. ? / man aḥnjir ?	“Which child?”
ፎ. ተ.ዐፀ. ? / man tarbat ?	“Which girl?”
ፎ. ተ. ተ።ዕተ. ? / matta tmurt a ?	“What is this country?”

- *As a direct object of a verb:*

ለ. ተ።ዕ. ለ. ፭፭፭. / da tturarn aḥidus.	“They are dancing Ahidus.”
፭፭. ።ዕ. ተ.ፀ. / yuzn asn tarbat.	“He sent them a letter.”
፭ዕ. ።ዕዘፎ. ለ. ለ. ፭፭. / isya uslmad adlis.	“The teacher bought a book.”
፭፭. ለ. ።ዕ. ፭፭. / qqarn as izm.	“They call him the lion.”

- *As a pre-posed subject, a topic indicator, a predicate or after the predication particle ለ / d:*

ዕዘፎ. ለ. ፭፭. / aslmad irah.	“The teacher is gone.”
ዕዘፎ. ለ. ፭፭. / aslmad, irah.	“The teacher, he is gone.”
ዕዕ. ተ. ለ. ፭፭. ፭፭. / yurs tanakṣa iyudan.	“He has a nice mat.”

Λ ◦ΘⓂⒸ. / d aslm.	“It is a fish.”
◦○ Λ †◦Ⓒ◦† ◦Ⓛ◦ ◦Ⓢ◦. / ur d tamurt inu aya.	“This is not my country.”
◦Θ Λ ◦Θ◦Ⓜ◦Θ ◦Ⓢ◦ ? / is d abayus aya ?	“Is this a monkey?”
Ⓒ◦ Λ ◦○Θ◦? / ma d arba ?	“Is it a child?”
◦Ⓢ◦ Ⓜ◦! Λ ◦Ⓜ○Λ◦. / iga zun d ayrda ?	“He is like a mouse.”

- As a qualifier (quality noun) after a qualified noun:

◦Ⓢ○◦Ⓜ ◦ⒸⓈⓈ○◦! / agraw amqqran	“The big crowd”
◦Θ◦!◦Ⓢ ◦ⓈⓂΛ◦! / asinag agldan	“The Royal Institute”
◦Ⓢ◦Λ◦Θ ◦Ⓢ○Ⓜ◦† / ahidus akswat	“Great Ahidus”

- After the following morphemes:

- ◦Ⓜ / al “until, till” and ΘⓂ◦ / bla “without”

◦ⓂΛ◦ ◦Ⓜ ◦Λ○◦○. / idda al adrar.	“He went to the mountain.”
†ΛΛ◦ ΘⓂ◦ ◦○○◦Θ. / tdda bla aqrab.	“She went without a bag.”

- Ⓜ◦Θ / yas and Ⓜ◦◦○ / yir “only”

Ⓜ◦Θ ◦Ⓜ○◦Ⓢ ◦Ⓢ Ⓜ◦◦◦Ⓜ. / yas afrux ay zrix. “I saw the child only.”

- The privative Ⓜ◦○ / war “without (masc.)”, †◦○ / tar “without (fem.)” and the derogatory negator ◦Ⓢ◦○ / gar.

Ⓜ◦○ ◦Λ○◦◦Ⓒ / war idrimn	“without money, penniless”
†◦○ ◦○○◦Ⓜ / tar arraw	“without children, sterile woman”
◦Ⓢ◦○ †◦Ⓜ◦○◦ / gar tawuri	“nasty business”

b. Construct State

A noun in the construct state is specified by an alteration of the first vowel in specific syntactic positions. Construct state forms are conditioned by the nature of the initial vowel as well as by the gender (masc. and fem.) and the number (sing. and plr.) of the noun.

(i) Syntactic contexts in which the construct state obtains

The construct state obtains in the following syntactic positions:

- When the noun has the syntactic function of a lexical subject and it is post-posed to the verb:

ሥፌፍ ለ ማጠራጠ. / yus d uslmad	“The teacher has come.” (FS: ማጠራጠ / aslmad)
ተፌፍ ለ ተጠራጠ. / tus d tslmadt	“The teacher (fem.) has come.” (FS: ተፌፍ ለ ተጠራጠ / taslmadt)

- After a preposition, to the exception of ለ / al “till, until” and ፀ / bla “without”:

ፀሰዘዋ ስ ስጦራ. / siwly i unccad	“I have talked to the poet.” (FS: ስጦራ / anccad)
ሠጤ ለ ተራጽኦት / awal n tmazirt	“the homeland language” (FS: ተራጽኦት / tamazirt)
ረዘዝ ጸ ለጸጸ. / iffɣ g unzar.	“He went out while it was raining.” (FS: ለጸጸ / anzar)
ረዘዘ ጸ ጸጸ. / illa xf ukabar.	“He leads the troop.” (FS: ጸጸ / akabar)
ረጸጸ ተ ሃፀ ረጸጸ. / izra t yr umzil.	“He saw him at the smiths.” (FS: ረጸጸ / amzil)
ረጸጸ ጸ ለጸጸ. / izdy g ujdin.	“He lives in Ajdir.” (FS: ለጸጸ / ajdir)

- After a coordinator:

ለጸጸ ለ ፀጸጸ / anzar d usmmid “rain and cold”

- After the morphemes ለ / u, ለ / ult, ለ / ayt, ለ / ist, ፀ / bu and ለ (ለ) / m (mm) denoting attribution, affiliation or belonging:

ለ (l) ተራጽኦት / ist (n) tmazirt	“fellow citizens (fem.)” (FS: ተራጽኦት / tamazirt)
ፀ ሃፀጸ / Bu uyanim	“flute player” (FS: ሃፀጸ / ayanim)
ለ ተራጸጸጸ / m tnakriwin	“the mat seller (fem.)” (FS: ተራጸጸጸ / tinakriwin)

- After a numeral, regardless if it is followed by the genitive preposition ለ or not:

ᠰᠣᠤ ᠠᠨᠤᠨᠠᠶ / yan umnay	“one knight” (FS: ᠠᠨᠤᠨᠠᠶ / amnay)
ᠶᠢᠵᠢ ᠨ ᠤᠷᠪᠠ / ijj n urba	“one boy” (FS: ᠠᠷᠪᠠ / arba)
ᠰᠣᠲᠤ (l) ᠲᠤᠳᠤᠳᠤᠳᠤᠲᠤ / yat (n) tamṭṭuḍṭ	“one woman” (FS: ᠲᠤᠳᠤᠳᠤᠳᠤᠲᠤ / tamṭṭuḍṭ)
ᠶᠢᠴᠢᠨ ᠲᠠᠩᠵᠢᠷᠲᠤ / ict n thṇjirt	“one girl” (FS: ᠲᠠᠩᠵᠢᠷᠲᠤ / taṇjirt)
ᠰᠢᠨᠠᠲᠤ (l) ᠲᠢᠶᠢᠰᠢᠨ / snat (n) tfirasin	“two pears” (FS: ᠲᠢᠶᠢᠰᠢᠨ / tifirasin)
ᠬᠢᠷᠠᠳᠤᠲᠤ (l) ᠲᠡᠶᠢᠶᠠᠯᠢᠨ / kṛaḍṭ (n) tɛyyalin	“three girls” (FS: ᠲᠡᠶᠢᠶᠠᠯᠢᠨ / tieyyalin)

- After ᠰᠠ / id “of”:

ᠰᠢᠨ ᠠᠨᠤᠨᠠᠶ / sin id walf “two thousand”

(ii) Construct state forms

- The construct state of singular masculine nouns with an initial vowel ᠠ- / a-, ᠡ- / u- or ᠢ- / i-:

- The alternation ᠠ- / a- → ᠡ- / u-:

<u>FS</u>	Gloss		<u>CS</u>
ᠠᠶᠢᠰᠢᠨ / afiras	“pear”	→	ᠡᠶᠢᠰᠢᠨ / ufiras
ᠠᠬᠠᠰᠢᠨ / aḥwac	“Ahwash”	→	ᠡᠬᠠᠰᠢᠨ / uḥwac
ᠠᠵᠠᠯᠢᠨ / aḷalim	“onion”	→	ᠡᠵᠠᠯᠢᠨ / uḷalim

- Preserving initial ᠠ- / a-, ᠡ- / u-, ᠢ- / i- while prefixing ᠠ- / w- and ᠶ- / y-:

<u>FS</u>	Gloss		<u>CS</u>
ᠠᠨᠤ / anu	“well”	→	ᠠᠨᠤᠨᠠᠶ / wanu
ᠠᠮᠠᠨ / aman	“water”	→	ᠠᠮᠠᠨᠠᠶ / waman
ᠠᠰᠢᠶᠢᠰᠢᠨ / asif	“river”	→	ᠠᠰᠢᠶᠢᠰᠢᠨ / wasif
ᠠᠳᠤᠮᠤ / udm	“face”	→	ᠠᠳᠤᠮᠤᠨᠠᠶ / wudm
ᠠᠶᠢᠰᠢᠨ / ury	“gold”	→	ᠠᠶᠢᠰᠢᠨᠠᠶ / wury
ᠢᠵᠢ / izi	“fly”	→	ᠶᠢᠵᠢᠨ / yizi
ᠢᠶᠢᠰᠢᠨ / ifri	“cave”	→	ᠶᠢᠶᠢᠰᠢᠨ / yifri

- Construct state of singular feminine nouns with initial ተ- / ta-, ተ- / tu- or ተጅ- / ti-:

- Loss of the initial vowel -a- / -a- or -u- / -u-:

FS	Gloss		CS
ተ.ፍ.ዐተ / tamurt	“land , country”	→	ተ.ፍ.ዐተ / tmurt
ተ.ፍ.ዐ.ዐተ / tamyart	“woman”	→	ተ.ፍ.ዐ.ዐተ / tmyart
ተጅጁጁጁተ / tizikrt	“small rope”	→	ተጅጁጁተ / tzikrt
ተጅጁጁተ / tifrit	“small cave”	→	ተጅጁተ / tfrit

- Preserving the initial vowel -a- / -a-, -u- / -u- or -i- / -i-:

FS	Gloss		CS
ተ.ዐ.ተ / tanut	“small well”	→	ተ.ዐ.ተ / tanut
ተ.ጸ.ተ / tagut	“fog”	→	ተ.ጸ.ተ / tagut
ተ.ገ.ገ.ዐተ / taddart	“house”	→	ተ.ገ.ገ.ዐተ / taddart
ተ.ገ.ገ.ተ / taydit	“she-dog”	→	ተ.ገ.ገ.ተ / taydit
ተ.ዐ.ተ.ተ / turtit	“small orchard”	→	ተ.ዐ.ተ.ተ / turtit
ተ.ገ.ተ / tudit	“butter”	→	ተ.ገ.ተ / tudit
ተ.ገ.ገ.ተ / tucent	“she-wolf”	→	ተ.ገ.ገ.ተ / tucent
ተጅጁተ / tizit	“midge”	→	ተጅጁተ / tizit
ተጅተ.ተ / titrit	“star”	→	ተጅተ.ተ / titrit

- Construct state of plural nouns:

- Preservation of the initial vowel ጅ- / i- in the masc. plr. form and its loss in the fem. plr. form:

FS	Gloss		CS
ጅገገ.ዐ.ተ / ilqayn	“lambs”	→	ጅገገ.ዐ.ተ / ilqayn
ተጅገገ.ዐ.ተ / tilqayin	“ewe lambs”	→	ተገገ.ዐ.ተ / tlqayin
ጅጅጅጅ.ዐ.ተ / icirran	“children”	→	ጅጅጅጅ.ዐ.ተ / icirran
ተጅጅጅጅ.ዐ.ተ / ticirratin	“girls”	→	ተጅጅጅጅ.ዐ.ተ / tcirratin
ጅገገ.ዐ.ተ / izlan	“songs”	→	ጅገገ.ዐ.ተ / izlan
ተጅገገ.ዐ.ተ / tizlatin	“songs”	→	ተገገ.ዐ.ተ / tzlatin
ጅጅ.ገገ.ዐ.ተ / isaffn	“rivers”	→	ጅጅ.ገገ.ዐ.ተ / isaffn
ተጅጅ.ገገ.ዐ.ተ / tisaffin	“small rivers”	→	ተጅጅ.ገገ.ዐ.ተ / tsaffin

- Prefixing ʈ / w in the masc. plr. form and preserving the vowel ɔ- / a-, ɔ̣- / u- in the fem. plr. form:

FS	Gloss		CS
ɔ.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ / argan	“argan”	→	ʈ.ɔ.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ / wargan
ʈ.ɔ.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ / targanin	“argan trees”	→	ʈ.ɔ.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ / targanin
ɔ̣.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ / una	“wells”	→	ʈ.ɔ̣.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ / wuna
ʈ.ɔ̣.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ / tuna	“small wells”	→	ʈ.ɔ̣.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ / tuna
ɔ̣.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ / udmawn	“faces”	→	ʈ.ɔ̣.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ / wudmawn
ʈ.ɔ̣.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ / tudmawin	“small faces”	→	ʈ.ɔ̣.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ / tudmawin

- Maintenance of the vowel ɛ- / i- in the masc. plr. form and its loss in the fem. plr. form:

FS	Gloss		CS
ɛ.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ / izakarn	“ropes”	→	ɛ.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ / izakarn
ʈ.ɛ.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ / tizakarin	“small ropes”	→	ʈ.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ / tzakarin
ɛ.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ / ifran	“caves”	→	ɛ.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ / ifran
ʈ.ɛ.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ / tifratin	“small caves”	→	ʈ.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ / tfratin
ɛ.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ / ixamn	“houses”	→	ɛ.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ / ixamn
ʈ.ɛ.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ / tixamin	“tents, houses”	→	ʈ.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ / txamin

Summary tables of Construct State formation

Masculine		
	Free State	Construct State
Singular	ɔ..... / a..... ɔ..... / a..... ɛ..... / i..... ɔ̣..... / u.....	ɔ̣..... / u..... ʈ.ɔ..... / wa..... ɛ / ɛ̣..... / i / yi..... ʈ.ɔ̣..... / wu.....
Plural	ɛ..... / i.....n ɔ..... / a.....n ɛ..... / i.....n ɔ̣.....(l) / u.....a(n) ɛ..... / i.....n ɔ̣..... / u.....n c ⁸ ɛʌ c..... / id c.....	ɛ..... / i.....n ʈ.ɔ..... / wa.....n ɛ..... / i.....n ʈ.ɔ̣.....(l) / wu.....a(n) ɛ..... / i.....n ʈ.ɔ̣..... / wu.....n c..... ɛʌ c..... / id c.....

8- c stands for a consonant.

Feminine		
	Free State	Construct State
Singular	†o.....(†) / ta.....(t)	†.....(†) / t.....(t)
	†o.....(†) / ta.....(t)	†o.....(†) / ta.....(t)
	†x.....(†) / ti.....(t)	†.....(†) / t.....(t)
	†x.....(†) / ti.....(t)	†x.....(†) / ti.....(t)
	†o.....(†) / tu.....(t)	†o.....(†) / tu.....(t)
Plural	†x.....l / ti.....n	†.....l / t.....n
	†o.....x / ta.....in	†.....x / t.....in
	†x.....x / ti.....in	†.....x / t.....in
	†o.....x / tu.....in	†o.....x / tu.....in
	†x.....(l) / ti.....(n)	†.....x / t.....in
	†o.....x / tu.....in	†o.....x / tu.....in
	†o.....x / ta.....in	†o.....x / ta.....in
	c.....(o†) / c.....(at)	c.....(o†) / c.....at

2. Derived and compound nouns

Derived and compound nouns are complex forms of nouns that result from morphological or lexical processes. Both the derived and the compound forms obtain from the adjunction of two or more lexical units.

2.1. Derived nouns

A derived noun may well be formed by an initial or final affixation of a derivational morpheme to a simple noun. Yet, it should be contended that defining derivation along the above terms is but a pedagogical simplification. Affixal derivation does not hold via prefixation and suffixation only; some other alterations may obtain in the stem of the word. More often than not, derivation is more than affixation only; it involves alterations in the stem as well as in the vocalic melodies of the word.

It is on the basis of the strategies laid out above that nouns such as action, agentive, instrumental, place and quality nouns are derived.

a. Action nouns

An action noun is derived from a (simple or derived) verb that expresses an abstract or concrete action. Derivation, which takes the aorist theme (neutral form) as its basic form, is usually associated with some changes within the stem. The main procedures along which the derivation of action nouns is carried out are set out below:

- (i) ɔ- / a- prefixation;
- (ii) ɔ̃- / u- prefixation;
- (iii) ʒ- / i- prefixation;
- (iv) circumfixation of the feminine morpheme ʔ...ʔ / t...t;
- (v) ʈ- / l- prefixation to loan words from Arabic.

(i) ɔ- / a- prefixation along with some alterations in the stem

<u>Noun</u>	<u>Gloss</u>		<u>Verb</u>
ɔ.ʒɪ.ʒɔ / ɔ.ʒɪ.ʒɔ aznza / azznuz	“selling”	<	ʒɪ.ʒɪ / zznz
ɔ.θʌ.ɔ / abdar	“mentioning”	<	θʌ.ɔ / bdr
ɔ.ʁɔ.ʁɔ / afrfr	“flying”	<	ʁɔ.ʁɔ / frfr
ɔ.ʔʒ.ʔʒ / asqsi	“question”	<	ʔʒ.ʔʒ / sqsa
ɔ.ʌ.ɔ / andar	“uprooting”	<	ʌ.ɔ / ndr
ɔ.ʔʈ.ʈ / astay	“filtering”	<	ʔʈ.ʈ / sty
ɔ.ʈʌ.ʈ / aymas	“covering”	<	ʈʌ.ʈ / yms
ɔ.ʁʔʈ.ʈ / akttay	“rememberance”	<	ʁʔʈ.ʈ / kti
ɔ.ʈʒʒʒ / ayimi	“sitting”	<	ʒʒʒʒ / qqim
ɔ.θθ.ʈ / abbay	“bite, tearing”	<	θθ.ʈ / bby
ɔ.ʔʈʌʌ / aslmd	“teaching”	<	ʔʈʈʌʌ / sslmd
ɔ.ʔʈʌʈʌ / asunsi	“wandering”	<	ʔʈʈʌʈʌ / sunsi

(ii) ɔ̃- prefixation associated with some alterations in the stem

<u>Noun</u>	<u>Gloss</u>		<u>Verb</u>
ɔ̃.ʁʈʈ / ufuy	“going out”	→	ʁʈʈʈ / ffy
ɔ̃.ʈʈʈ / uɖuɖ	“suckling”	→	ʈʈʈʈ / ʈʈʈ
ɔ̃.ʈʈʈ / unuɖ	“loitering, sticking”	→	ʈʈʈ / nnd
ɔ̃.ʈʈʈ / umiy	“fight”	→	ʈʈʈʈ / mmay

(iii) ʒ- prefixation

ʒʒʒʒ / ɪzɪɖ	“milling”	→	ʒʒʒ / ʒɖ	“to grind”
ʒʒʒʒ / ɪzmi	“pressure”	→	ʒʒʒʒ / ʒmm	“to press”
ʒʒʒʒ / imnyɪ	“dispute, fight”	→	ʒʒ / ny	“to kill”

(iv) circumfixation of the feminine morpheme: $\text{t} \dots (\text{t}) / \text{t} \dots (\text{t})$, $\text{t} \circ \dots (\text{t}) / \text{ta} \dots (\text{t})$, $\text{t} \xi \dots (\text{t}) / \text{ti} \dots (\text{t})$ and $\text{t}^\circ \dots (\text{t}) / \text{tu} \dots (\text{t})$ associated with vocalic alteration of the initial or final vowel \circ / a , ξ / i or $^\circ / \text{u}$ and the gemination of a root consonant in some action nouns

Noun	Gloss		Verb
$\text{t} \circ \text{C}^\circ \text{t} / \text{tamunt}$	“company”	→	$\text{C}^\circ \text{t} / \text{mun}$
$\text{t} \circ \text{tK} \circ \circ / \text{tankra}$	“getting up”	→	$\text{tK} \circ / \text{nkr}$
$\text{t} \circ \text{t} \circ \circ \text{X} \xi \text{t} / \text{tawargit}$	“dream”	→	$\text{t} \circ \circ \text{X} / \text{t} \circ \circ \text{X} \circ // \text{warg} / \text{warga}$
$\text{t} \xi \text{K} \text{C} \text{C} \circ \circ / \text{tizmmar}$	“ability”	→	$\text{K} \text{C} \circ / \text{zmr}$
$\text{t} \xi \text{X} \text{t} \xi / \text{tigni}$	“sewing”	→	$\text{X} \text{t}^\circ / \text{gnu}$
$\text{t} \xi \circ \circ \text{X} / \text{t} \xi \circ \circ \circ // \text{tissi} / \text{tissa}$	“drinking”	→	$\circ \text{X} / \text{su}$
$\text{t}^\circ \text{A} \circ \text{t} / \text{tudrt}$	“life”	→	$\text{A} \text{A} \circ / \text{ddr}$
$\text{t}^\circ \text{II}^\circ \text{t} / \text{tujjut}$	“nice smell”	→	$\text{II}^\circ / \text{jju}$
$\text{t}^\circ \circ \circ \text{t} \circ / \text{tussna}$	“knowledge”	→	$\circ \circ \text{t} / \text{ssn}$

(v) Prefixation of Arabic $\text{h-} / \text{l-}$ to some loan words

The prefix $\text{h-} / \text{l-}$ may assimilate to the initial consonant of the verb, forming, thereby, a geminate with the consonant that follows.

$\text{hK} \circ / \text{lhmu}$	“heat”	→	$\text{K} \text{C}^\circ / \text{hmu}$	“to be hot”
$\circ \circ \text{X} \text{C} \text{t} / \text{rrhmt}$	“clemence”	→	$\circ \text{X} \text{C} / \text{rhm}$	“to be clement”
$\text{K} \text{K} \text{X} \text{X} \circ \text{Q} / \text{zzyyaf}$	“tightening”	→	$\text{K} \text{X} \text{X} \text{Q} / \text{zzyf}$	“to tighten”
$\text{h} \xi \text{t} \xi \circ \circ \text{h} / \text{litihal}$	“marriage”	→	$\text{t} \circ \circ \text{h} / \text{tahl}$	“to marry”

b. Agentive nouns

Agentive nouns are derived from action verbs. While the agentive noun generally refers to the real doer of the action, it may refer as well to the patient that receives the action. Agentive nouns usually refer to animate beings, a situation which explains their variation in gender and number. The close lexical and semantic connection that holds between an agentive noun and an

action noun is patently clear in most cases, namely when they are derived from the same verb. Some agentive nouns may well behave like quality nouns, most notably when the basic verb expresses an abstract action.

There are four different fashions in which an agentive noun can be derived, namely by prefixing one of the following four elements: ʘ- / a-, ʘᑦ- / ʘl- // am- / an-, ᑭᑦ- / im-, ᑭ- / i- to the verb stem. The stem may also recognize further vocalic alterations.

ʘᑭᑭᑦ / anwwac	“slanderer”	→	ᑭᑭᑦ / nwwc	“to slander”
ʘᑦᑭᑦ / amagr	“thief”	→	ʘᑭᑦ / agr	“steal”
ʘᑦᑭᑦ / amnay	“knight”	→	ᑭᑦ / ny	“to ride”
ʘᑦᑭᑦᑦ / amarir	“singer, poet”	→	ʘᑦᑭᑦᑦ / urar	“to sing, dance”
ʘᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ / anzif	“visitor”	→	ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ / rzzf	“to visit”
ʘᑦᑭᑦᑦ / anaʒum	“faster (person)”	→	ʘᑦᑭᑦᑦ / aʒum	“to fast”
ʘᑦᑭᑦᑦᑦ / anmmaddu	“traveller”	→	ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ / mmuddu	“to travel”
ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑦᑦ / imkiri	“day labourer”	→	ᑭᑦᑦᑦ / kru	“to hire”

c. Instrumental nouns

An instrumental noun is derived from an action noun, regardless if it is simple or derived. Instrumental nouns refer to the tool or means by which the action is implemented.

Instrumental nouns are generally formed by the prefixation of ʘ- / a- // ʘᑦ- / as- to the verbal theme. Sometimes, the affixation is concomitant with some vocalic or consonantal alterations in the verb stem.

ʘᑭᑦ / anzl	“goad”	<	ᑭᑦᑦ / nzl	“to prick”
ʘᑦᑦᑦᑦ / asrgl	“lid”	<	ᑦᑦᑦᑦ / rgl	“to close”

◦⊙ⅩⅨ / Ⅹ⊙⊙ⅩⅨ asgni / issgni	“big needle”	<	ⅩⅨ / gnu	“to sew”
◦⊙ⅨⅨ / ◦⊙Ⅸ asddul / asdl	“covering”	<	Ⅸ / dl	“to cover”
◦⊙ⅨⅨ / asqqun	“lid”	<	ⅨⅨ / qqn	“to close”
◦⊙ⅨⅨ / askrf	“hobble”	<	ⅨⅨ / krf	“to hobble”
◦⊙ⅨⅨ / asmsd	“sharpener”	<	Ⅹ⊙ⅨⅨ / imsid	“to be sharpened”
†◦⊙ⅨⅨ / tasxsit	“ashtray”	<	Ⅹ⊙Ⅸ / xsi	“to be put out (fire)”
†◦⊙⊙⊙Ⅸ / tasrramt	“pencil- sharpener”	<	⊙⊙Ⅸ / srm	“to sharpen”

2.2. Compound nouns

Nominal compounding is less productive than derivation. Nominal compounding may well be viewed as a process whereby two elements are conjoined into a single noun that has a separate meaning. This meaning is usually the semantic combination of the meanings of the two words which are conjoined into the compound noun. The elements making up the compound noun may belong to the same lexical category as much as they may belong to different categories. The different fashions in which nominal compounding holds are laid out as follows:

a- Noun + l / n + noun

This sort of compounding relates two nouns by the genitive preposition l / n “of”; the second element of the compound is a complement that determines the first. More often than not, the compound noun is lexicalised into an idiomatic fixed form. The combination “noun + l / n + noun” behaves syntactically as a single noun and its plural form is derived by the use of ⅩⅨ / id:

◦Ⅸ.⊙Ⅸ⊙ l ⅩⅨⅨ / amarir n izlan	“poems singer = sort of fish”
◦Ⅸ⊙ l Ⅸ⊙⊙ / agru n lbur	“frog of uncultivated land = toad”

ተ.ጸር.ዐተ ሰፀርፎ.፯ / tagmart n ismdal	“cemetery mare = unicorn”
ዐጼ.፯፭ር ሀ፡፭፭ / aḫalim n wuccn	“wolf onion = spring squill”
ዐር. ሀ.ዐ፡ዐ / aman n marur	“marur water = mirage”
ዐፀጸ፤ ፀፀፀ፤ / anbgi n ṛbbi	“God’s guest = guest”
ተ.፯፻ርተ ፀ.ፀ. ፀፀፀ፤ / talymt n baba ṛbbi	“camel of my Lord = praying mantis”

b- Noun + noun

A compound noun may well take the form of two conjoined nouns where the modified noun comes first. It can be a quality noun:

ፀ.ፀ. ፀፀፀ፤ / baba ṛbbi “Father-God = God”

c- Noun + participle

Under this display, the noun is the subject of the participle (a quality verb) that follows. Considered more carefully, the string is a reduced relative clause without a relative pronoun to join the two elements.

ዐር. ፂፂ፤ aman ḍṛnin	“falling water = dew”
ፀ.ፀ ር፯፯፡ዐ bab mqurn	“father being old = grandfather”

d- Verb + noun

Under this form, the sequence is made up of a transitive verb and its direct object; the whole string is lexicalised.

ሀ.ፀ፯ ዐር. waṣl aman	“follows water = raccoon”
ር፯ፂፂ ፡፯ mkṛḍ ul	“scratch heart = misery”
ፀ፯፭ ፡፳፳፡ዐ slm agg ^w rn	“suck up flour = butterfly”
ተ.ዐ.፻ ፯ዐ. / ttay kra	“suffer from something = illness”
ዐ፯ዐ ር፯፯.፯ akr mllal	“steal white = off-white”

e- Verb + verb

We are dealing here with two adjacent verbs which behave syntactically as a single unit:

ᠡᠬᠠᠵᠤ ᠰᠤ᠋ᠭᠤᠨ / bᠢᠷᠠᠮ ᠶᠤᠰ	“turn it; it is burning = barbecue”
ᠡᠨᠡᠰ ᠵᠠᠯᠠᠰ / bbi zdi	“cut-stick = patched up and fixed”

3. Quality nouns

Quality nouns are generally derived from state or quality verbs. They can express a whole range of meanings such as an attribute, a quality, a peculiarity, a colour, a way of being, an imperfection, a form, an infirmity, a moral attitude and many others.

3.1. The structure of quality nouns

The structure of quality nouns is in no way different from the structure of agentive and patient nouns. Deriving quality nouns is implemented along the following strategies:

a- Prefixing ᠡ- / a- to the verbal theme along with a vocalic alternation in the penultimate position of the stem

ᠡᠶᠠᠵᠠᠰ / ayzzaf	“tall”	ᠰᠤᠵᠢᠰ / iyzif	“to be tall”
ᠡᠬᠠᠷᠠᠨ / abrkan	“black”	ᠡᠬᠠᠨ / brkn	“to be black”
ᠡᠭᠠᠷᠠᠯ / aᠳᠢᠷᠠᠯ	“blind”	ᠡᠭᠠᠯ / ᠳᠢᠷᠠᠯ	“to be blind”
ᠡᠠᠰᠰᠠᠷ / awssar	“old”	ᠠᠰᠰᠢᠷ / ᠠᠰᠤᠷ / ᠠᠰᠢᠷ //	“to be old”

b- Prefixing ᠡᠭᠠᠮ - ᠡᠭᠠᠨ to the verbal theme coupled with sporadic medial or final vocalic alterations

ᠡᠭᠠᠮᠢᠶᠤᠷ / anmyur	“big, important”	ᠭᠠᠮᠢᠶᠤᠷ / myur	“to be big, important”
ᠡᠭᠠᠨᠪᠤᠷ / anbur	“bachelor”	ᠡᠭᠠᠨᠪᠤᠷ / bur	“to be a bachelor”
ᠡᠭᠠᠮᠯᠠᠵᠤ / amllazu	“hungry”	ᠭᠠᠮᠯᠠᠵᠤ / lluz	“to be hungry”
ᠡᠭᠠᠮᠭᠠᠷᠤ / amggaru	“last”	ᠭᠠᠮᠭᠠᠷᠤ / ᠭᠠᠮᠭᠢᠷ / ᠭᠠᠮᠭᠢᠷ //	“to be the last”

c- ʒ- / i- prefixation along with some internal vocalic alterations

ʒEʒWʒ / idili “black” Eʒ / dlu “to be black”

d- ɔ- / u- prefixation along with sporadic infixation of ʒ- / i-

ɔXʒʒl / uxcin	“unkind, ugly”	Xʒl / xcn	“to be unkind, ugly”
ɔCʒWʒ / umlil	“white”	ʒCʒWʒ / CʒWʒ //	“to be white”
ɔZCʒO / uqmir	“narrow”	ZCʒO / qmr	“to be narrow”

3.2. Quality nouns uses

Morphologically, a quality noun functions in the same way as an ordinary noun. It takes gender markers (oCʒʒo.ɔ / amzwaru “the first (masc.)” > tɔCʒʒo.ɔt / tamzwarut “the first (fem.)”), number markers (oCʒʒo.ɔ / amzwaru “the first (sing.)” > ʒCʒʒo.ɔ / imzwura “the first (plr.)”) and state markers (oCʒʒo.ɔ / amzwaru “the first (FS)” > ɔCʒʒo.ɔ / umzwaru “the first (CS)”).

A quality noun can either be preceded by the particle ʌ / d “it is” or the copula X / g “to be”.

ʌ oCZZO.l. / d amqqrان.	“It is big.”
ʌ oʒO.ʒ. / d awray.	“It is yellow.”
ʒX. oʒθʒo.l. / iga aşbhan.	“He is handsome.”

As a noun modifier, a quality noun directly follows the modified noun with which it agrees in gender and number:

oCʒtɔ.ɔ oCʒWʒ / amktar amllal	“the white horse”
tɔ.ʒɔtɔ tɔ.ʒWʒE+ / tafust tazlmaqt	“the (small) left hand”
ʒʌIʒOI ʒCʒʒʒo.ʌ / iħnjirn imzzyann	“the little children”

4. Numerals

Numerals have their own morphology and structure. They can, therefore, fill all the functions of an ordinary noun.

ḤḤḤḤ ḤḤḤḤ. / mmutn sin.	“Two died.”
ḤḤḤḤ ḤḤḤḤ. / zḥiy kkuḥ.	“I saw four.”
ḤḤḤḤ ḤḤ ḤḤ. / mrawt ay ann.	“It is ten (fem.).”

4.1. Numbers from 1 to 10

Not all Amazigh varieties have preserved the original numeral paradigms.

The numbers from 1 to 10 vary in gender; the feminine form obtains by adding the suffix *+-* / *t-* to the masculine form:

<u>Masc.</u>		<u>Fem.</u>	
ḤḤḤḤ / smmus	>	ḤḤḤḤ+ / smmust	“five”
ḤḤ / sa	>	ḤḤ+ / sat	“seven”
ḤḤ / tam	>	ḤḤ+ / tamt	“eight”

The noun that follows any of the numerals from 1 to 10 surfaces in the plural form as set out below:

ḤḤḤḤ (l) ḤḤḤḤḤḤ / kkuḥ (n) irgazn “four men”	>	ḤḤḤḤ+ (l) ḤḤḤḤḤḤ / kkuḥt (n) tmyarin “four women”
ḤḤḤḤ (l) ḤḤḤḤḤḤ / smmus (n) imḥḍarḥ “five pupils”	>	ḤḤḤḤ+ (l) ḤḤḤḤḤḤ / smmust (n) tmḥḍarḥ “five pupils” (fem.)

Numerals list

Masc.	Gloss	Fem.
ḤḤ, ḤḤḤ, ḤḤḤ / ḤḤḤ // yan, yun, ij / idj	“one”	ḤḤ+, ḤḤḤ+, ḤḤḤ+ / yat, yut, ict
ḤḤḤ / sin	“two”	ḤḤḤ+ / snat
ḤḤḤḤ, ḤḤḤḤ / kḥḍ / ḥḥḍ	“three”	ḤḤḤḤ+, ḤḤḤḤ+ / kḥḍt / ḥḥḍt
ḤḤḤḤ / kkuḥ	“four”	ḤḤḤḤ+ / kkuḥt
ḤḤḤḤḤ / smmus	“five”	ḤḤḤḤḤ+ / smmust
ḤḤḤḤ / ḥḥḥ	“six”	ḤḤḤḤ+ / ḥḥḥt
ḤḤ / sa	“seven”	ḤḤ+ / sat
ḤḤ / tam	“eight”	ḤḤ+ / tamt
ḤḤḤ / tḥa	“nine”	ḤḤḤ+ / tḥat
ḤḤḤḤ / mraw	“ten”	ḤḤḤḤ+ / mrawt

4.2. Numerals from 11 to 19

All the numerals from 11 to 19 are noun phrases made up of the numbers ሥፊ / yan (ሥፊ / yun, ሥII / ሥAI // ij / idj) to ተጼ። / tṣa conjoined with the number ርዐ። / mraw “ten” via the coordinator ለ / d “and”.

ሥፊ / ሥፊ / ሥII ለ ርዐ። // yan / yun / ij d mraw	“eleven”
፬፻፲ ለ ርዐ። / sin d mraw	“twelve”
፳፭ ለ ርዐ። / kṛaḍ d mraw	“thirteen”
ተጼ። ለ ርዐ። / tṣa d mraw	“nineteen”

Nouns introduced by the preposition ለ / n “of” always take the singular form:

፬፻፲ ለ ርዐ። ለ ሰጸ።ጼ / sin d mraw n urgaz	“twelve men”
፬፻፲፭ ለ ርዐ። ለ ተ፻።፬ / smmus d mrawt n tmṽart	“fifteen women”

If the numeral is followed by a feminine noun, the numbers of ones surface in the masculine form while the numbers of tens take the feminine marker:

Masc.	Fem.	
ሥፊ ለ ርዐ። / yan d mraw	ሥፊ ለ ርዐ። / yan d mrawt	“eleven”
፬፻፲ ለ ርዐ። / sin d mraw	፬፻፲ ለ ርዐ። / sin d mrawt	“twelve”
፳፭ ለ ርዐ። / kṛaḍ d mraw	፳፭ ለ ርዐ። / kṛaḍ d mrawt	“thirteen”
፳፭ ለ ርዐ። / kkuz d mraw	፳፭ ለ ርዐ። / kkuz d mrawt	“fourteen”
፬፻፲፭ ለ ርዐ። / smmus d mraw	፬፻፲፭ ለ ርዐ። / smmus d mrawt	“fifteen”
፬፻፲፭ ለ ርዐ። / ṣḍiṣ d mraw	፬፻፲፭ ለ ርዐ። / ṣḍiṣ d mrawt	“sixteen”
፬፻፲፭ ለ ርዐ። / sa d mraw	፬፻፲፭ ለ ርዐ። / sa d mrawt	“seventeen”
ተ፻። ለ ርዐ። / tam d mraw	ተ፻። ለ ርዐ። / tam d mrawt	“eighteen”
ተጼ። ለ ርዐ። / tṣa d mraw	ተጼ። ለ ርዐ። / tṣa d mrawt	“nineteen”

4.3. Numerals with values of tens

These numerals consist of phrases where numbers from ᠐ᠰᠢ / sin - ᠐ᠢᠨ / snat to ᠲᠡᠮᠤ / tza - ᠲᠡᠮᠤᠲᠤ / tzaᠲ are conjoined to the number ᠢᠭᠣᠮᠤ / mraw via the plural morpheme ᠰᠢᠨ / id.

These numerals exhibit regular agreement with the gender of the noun that follows (the counted noun). The only numeral which holds as an exception is ᠲᠡᠭᠤᠨᠲᠢᠨ / timiḍi (100); it is always observed in the feminine form only.

᠐ᠰᠢ ᠰᠢᠨ ᠢᠭᠣᠮᠤ / sin id mraw	“twenty”
ᠷᠠᠭᠤᠨ ᠰᠢᠨ ᠢᠭᠣᠮᠤ / kṛaḍ id mraw	“thirty”
ᠲᠡᠮᠤ ᠰᠢᠨ ᠢᠭᠣᠮᠤ / tza id mraw	“ninety”
ᠲᠡᠭᠤᠨᠲᠢᠨ / timiḍi	“a hundred”

4.4. Numbers greater than 20

The numbers of tens precede the numbers of ones to which they are associated by ᠠ / d “and”; the whole is linked to the counted noun through the preposition ᠢ / n “of”. The counted noun always surfaces in the singular form:

᠐ᠰᠢ ᠰᠢᠨ ᠢᠭᠣᠮᠤ ᠠ ᠐ᠤ (ᠢ) ᠰᠢᠨᠠᠭᠤᠨ / sin id mraw d sa (n) umḥḍar	“twenty-seven students”
ᠷᠠᠭᠤᠨ ᠰᠢᠨ ᠢᠭᠣᠮᠤᠲᠤ ᠠ ᠰᠤᠲᠤ (ᠢ) ᠲᠢᠨᠠᠭᠤᠨ / kṛaḍ id mrawt d yat (n) tmḥḍart	“twenty-one students (fem.)”

ᠲᠡᠭᠤᠨᠲᠢᠨ “a hundred” (plr. ᠲᠡᠭᠤᠨᠲᠢᠨ / timaḍ (FS) // ᠲᠡᠭᠤᠨᠲᠢᠨ / tmaḍ (CS))

The noun that follows ᠲᠡᠭᠤᠨᠲᠢᠨ is always in the plural form and is introduced by the preposition ᠢ / n “of”:

ᠲᠡᠭᠤᠨᠲᠢᠨ ᠢ ᠲᠡᠭᠤᠨᠲᠢᠨ / timiḍi n tfunasin	“a hundred cows”
ᠲᠡᠭᠤᠨᠲᠢᠨ ᠠ ᠰᠤᠲᠤ / timiḍi d yan	“a hundred and one”
ᠲᠡᠭᠤᠨᠲᠢᠨ ᠠ ᠲᠡᠮᠤ / timiḍi d tza	“a hundred and nine”
ᠲᠡᠭᠤᠨᠲᠢᠨ ᠠ ᠐ᠰᠢ ᠰᠢᠨ ᠢᠭᠣᠮᠤ / timiḍi d sin id mraw	“a hundred and twenty”
᠐ᠢᠨᠲᠤ ᠲᠡᠭᠤᠨᠲᠢᠨ / snat tmaḍ	“two hundred”
ᠰᠢᠨᠠᠭᠤᠨ (plr. ᠰᠢᠨᠠᠭᠤᠨᠲᠢᠨ) / ifḍ (plr. afḍan)	“a thousand”
ᠲᠡᠭᠤᠨᠲᠢᠨ ᠢ ᠤᠭᠤᠨᠲᠢᠨ / timiḍi n wafḍan	“a hundred thousand”

4.5 ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers are nouns because they meet all the functions of ordinary nouns. They function also as modifiers of ordinary and kinship nouns. Ordinal numbers bifurcate into two types:

a. The “first” and the “last”

The two ordinal numbers, “the first” and “the last”, are formed in the same fashion in which quality nouns are formed (i.e. with the prefixation of օԸ / օԼ– am / an).

օԸՃԱօօ / amzwaru	“the first (masc. sing.)”	ተօԸՃԱօօተ / tamzwarut	“the first (fem. sing.)”
չԸՃԱօօ / imzwura	“the first (masc. plr.)”	ተչԸՃԱօօ / timzwura	“the first (fem. plr.)”

The ordinal number presented above is derived from the verb ՃԱօ / ՃԱչօ – zwar / zwir “to precede, to be the first”.

օԸՃՃօօ / amggaru	“the last (masc. sing.)”	ተօԸՃՃօօተ / tamggarut	“the last (fem. sing.)”
չԸՃՃօօ / imggura	“the last (masc. plr.)”	ተչԸՃՃօօ / timggura	“the last (fem. plr.)”

The afore-mentioned ordinal number is derived from the verb ՃՃօօ / ՃՃչօ / ՃՃօ – gguru / ggir / ggr “to lag behind, to be the last”.

b. Ordinal numbers from “second” and on

To the exception of *last*, ordinal numbers that come after *first* consist of cardinal numbers (see above) preceded by the supporting determination morpheme Աչօ / wis “the one with (masc.)” or Տչօ / tis “the one with (fem.)”.

Աչօ / wis + figure (in masc. form)
Աչօ ՔՁԵ / wis kraq “the third (masc.)”
Տչօ / tis + figure (in fem. form)
Տչօ ՔՁԵ+ / tis kraqt “the third (fem.)”

4.6. Fractions

To the exception of օՃՃԼ / azgn “half”, there is no specific term for fractions. The numerals for double, triple, quadruple, etc. are expressed by resorting to periphrasis.

- Noun:

◌ΛΛξΘ / adlis	“book = It is the book.”
†ξΛξΛ◌ / tilila	“Tilila = It is Tilila.”
ξΘΘ◌ / ibba	“my father = It is my father.”

- Quality noun:

◌Χ◌†◌Ο / axatar “the big = It is the big one.”

- An independent personal pronoun:

ΛΛξΛ / knniw “you (plr.) = It is you.”

- A demonstrative pronoun:

Λ◌Λ / wad “this one = It is this one.”

- Numeral (noun)

Λ◌Ο◌Λ / mraw “ten = It is ten.”

b. Use with the predicator Λ / d

All nouns can be preceded by predicating Λ / d when they are used as nominal predicates (*cf. section 8.1.2*).

Λ ◌ΛΛξΘ. / d adlis.	“It is the book.”
Λ ◌Χ◌†◌Ο. / d axatar.	“It is the big one.”
Λ ΛΛξΛ. / d knniw.	“It is you.”
Λ Λ◌Λ. / d wad.	“It is this one.”
Λ Λ◌Ο◌Λ. / d mraw.	“It is ten.”

In negative structures, the noun phrase with predicating Λ / d is preceded by the negative particle ◌Ο / ur.

◌Ο Λ ◌ΛΛξΘ. / ur d adlis.	“It is not the / a book.”
◌Ο Λ ◌Χ◌†◌Ο. / ur d axatar.	“It is not the big one.”
◌Ο Λ Λ◌Λ. / ur d wad.	“It is not this one.”

5.2. Noun phrases with determiners or specifiers

a. Defined noun phrases

Counter to other languages that have distinct definite articles (Arabic: *al*, French: *le / la*, English: *the*, etc.), Amazigh lacks such morphemes. The definiteness of Amazigh NPs does not ensue from the function of the initial vowel of the noun, which is usually construed as a definite article. In fact, a vowel-initial noun may well be indefinite if it is preceded by the indefinite morpheme which has the same form of the numeral ⵝⵓⵏ / yan (also ⵝⵓⵏ / yun or ⵝⵓⵏ / ijj) “one (masc.)” and its variant feminine form ⵝⵓⵏ / yat (also ⵝⵓⵏ / yut or ⵝⵓⵏ / ict) “one (fem.)”

ⵝⵓⵏ / abrid	“way, road”
ⵝⵓⵏ (l) ⵝⵓⵏ / ijj (n) ubrid	“one way, one road”

The definiteness of NPs may also be expressed through other processes such as the semantism of nouns (proper nouns, place nouns, kinship nouns, etc.) and other noun extensions (possessive pronouns, noun complements, quality nouns, qualifying participles and relative clauses).

As for non-integrated words that are borrowed from Arabic (both classical and dialectal Arabic), they retain their definite article ⵝⵓⵏ / l which is no longer interpreted as such. In fact, despite the presence of the article ⵝⵓⵏ / l, the definiteness of these nouns is canceled by the introduction of the indefinite masculine and feminine singular numerals ⵝⵓⵏ / yan, ⵝⵓⵏ / yun and ⵝⵓⵏ / ijj and ⵝⵓⵏ / yat, ⵝⵓⵏ / yut and ⵝⵓⵏ / ict.

ⵝⵓⵏ ⵝⵓⵏ / yan lqadi	“a judge”
ⵝⵓⵏ l ⵝⵓⵏ / ict n lmakina	“a machine”

b. Indefinite NP

As mentioned before, the indefinite meaning of an NP is the result of determining the noun by an indefinite morpheme, i.e. ⵝⵓⵏ / yan, ⵝⵓⵏ / yun, ⵝⵓⵏ / ijj and ⵝⵓⵏ / yat, ⵝⵓⵏ / yut, ⵝⵓⵏ / ict, or by a number of other morphemes that express indefiniteness, partition, uncertainty, etc. (ⵝⵓⵏ / kra, ⵝⵓⵏ / ca):

ⵝⵓⵏ ⵝⵓⵏ / yan urba	“a boy”
ⵝⵓⵏ l ⵝⵓⵏ / ict n trbat	“a girl”

(Λ) ᠠᠨᠳᠤᠶᠢᠵᠤ ᠠᠶᠢ ᠶᠢᠮᠠᠳᠤᠨᠠ. / (d) amdyaz ay immutn.	“It is the poet that was dead.”
ᠤᠷ ᠳᠠ ᠠᠨᠠᠳᠢᠷ ᠠᠶᠢ ᠠᠳᠤ! / ur d abrid ay a(d)!	“This is not the right road!”
ᠤᠷ ᠳᠠ ᠠᠨᠳᠤᠶᠢᠵᠤ ᠠᠶᠢ ᠶᠢᠮᠠᠳᠤᠨᠠ. / ur d amdyaz ay immutn.	“It is not the poet that was dead.”

• ᠨᠢᠲᠤ ᠠᠶᠢ / nit ay

ᠠᠰᠯᠠᠮᠠᠳᠤ ᠨᠢᠲᠤ ᠠᠶᠢ ᠲᠢ ᠵᠢᠷᠠᠨ. /
aslmad nit ay t iżran.
“It is the teacher himself who saw him.”

• ᠠᠬᠠᠭᠠ ᠠᠶᠢ / akk^w ay

ᠠᠳᠠᠫᠠ ᠠᠬᠠᠭᠠ ᠠᠶᠢ ᠶᠢᠳᠠᠨ. / adfl akk^w ay idᠠn. “It is snow that fell.”

• ᠬᠠ ᠠᠶᠢ, ᠶᠠᠰ ᠠᠶᠢ / Ka ay, ʏas ay

ᠶᠢᠬᠡᠯᠠᠨ ᠬᠠ ᠠᠶᠢ ᠭᠢᠰ. / iḥlaln ka ay gis.	“He is always lying.”
ᠶᠠᠰ ᠶᠢᠮᠠᠳᠤᠨ ᠠᠶᠢ ᠵᠢᠷᠠᠨ. / ʏas imndi ay krzn.	“They have cultivated wheat only.”

• ᠰᠶᠢᠭᠢᠰ ᠠᠶᠢ ᠳᠢ ᠶᠢᠭᠢᠰ ᠠᠶᠢ ᠳᠢ ᠶᠢᠭᠢᠰ ᠠᠶᠢ // s yixf nns ay / s uqrru nns ay

ᠠᠮᠶᠠᠷ ᠰᠶᠢᠭᠢᠰ ᠠᠶᠢ ᠳᠢ ᠶᠢᠳᠠᠨ. /
amɣar s yixf nns ay d iddan.
“The chief came in person.”

• ᠠᠮᠨᠠᠶ ᠠᠬᠠᠳᠤᠨ ᠠᠶᠢ ᠳᠢ ᠶᠠᠰᠢᠨ. // waḥdut / uḥdu ay

ᠠᠮᠨᠠᠶ ᠠᠬᠠᠳᠤᠨ ᠠᠶᠢ ᠳᠢ ᠶᠠᠰᠢᠨ. /
amnay uḥdut ay d yusin.
“The knight came alone.”

• ᠠᠮ ... ᠠᠶᠢ / am ... ay

ᠠᠮ ᠠᠭᠡᠨ ᠠ ᠠᠶᠢ ᠶᠢᠮᠠᠳᠤᠨ. / am aeban a ur illi.	“You cannot find this sort of clothes anywhere.”
ᠠᠮ ᠲᠠᠭᠠᠮᠠᠷ ᠠᠳᠤ ᠠᠶᠢ ᠳᠢ ᠶᠠᠰᠢᠨ. / am tagmart ad ay d ʏurs.	“He has a mare like this one .”

• Other topicalizers: ᠠᠭᠤ / ag, ᠤᠯᠠ / ula, ᠬᠠᠲᠤ / ḥtta, ᠠᠠᠳᠤ / awd “even”, ᠴᠠᠨ / man, ᠠᠨᠠᠨ / wan

ዐሀላ ሆጋጋ ሰዐጋ / awd umas irah.	“Even his brother went.”
፫፯፻፬ ለ ሐዘዐ፻፭ ሆ ሆጋጋ ሰ፻፱፻፱ / mqqar d aerrim ur yurs yiwፈ.	“Not even a single young man has paid him a visit.”

e. Numeral determiners

The numeral phrase falls under two categories: a noun phrase consisting of a cardinal number and a noun, and a noun phrase consisting of a noun and an ordinal number (*cf.* 3.4.5).

• NP with a cardinal number

Under this category, the noun is determined by a cardinal number with which it agrees in gender and number. In this context, the noun appears in the construct state.

፻፲፱ (l) ሆጋጋ / ijj (n) uyrda	“a mouse”
፻፭፱ ለ ሐዘዐ፻፭ / ict n tyrdagt	“a small mouse”
፳፻፲ (l) ሰ፻፱፻፱ / sin (n) iḥrmucn	“two boys”
፳፻፲ (l) ሐዘዐ፻፭፻፱ / snat (n) ṯḥrmucin	“two girls”

• NP with an ordinal number

Under this category, the NP is made up of a noun and an ordinal number. Ordinal numbers function as lexical determiners or modifiers of nouns to which they are attached, in the same fashion in which quality nouns (adjectives) modify nouns.

ዐ፫፻፱ ሰ፻፱፻፱ / amnay amzwaru	“the first knight”
፲፻፱፻፱ ሐዘዐ፻፭፻፱ / tafruxt tamzwarut	“the first girl”
፻፳፻፲ ሰ፻፱፻፱ / iysan imzwura	“the first horses”
፲፻፱፻፱ ሐዘዐ፻፭፻፱ / tiyallin timzwura	“the first mares”
፳፻፱፻፱ ሰ፻፱፻፱ / ussan imggura	“the last days”
፲፻፱፻፱ ሐዘዐ፻፭፻፱ / tifawin timggura	“the last light”

The NP consisting of a noun and an ordinal number may also take the shape of a noun modified or determined by a participial verb derived from the numerals ሰ፻፱፻፱ / amzwaru and ሰ፻፱፻፱ / amggaru. Under this display, the verb agrees only in number with the noun it modifies.

- 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 (l) / mnnaw (n) “many”

𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹 (l) 𐎧𐎫𐎲𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎡 𐎶𐎵𐎲𐎶.
mnaw (n) ifrxan ad yurs
“He has many children.”

- **CLICK** / mnck d “many, a lot of”

ÇİÇEK İN ELİNDEN / mnck d iqařıdn “a lot of money”

• 𐎲𐎠𐎡 / kda d, 𐎠𐎡𐎠𐎡 / aṭṭaṣ n, 𐎠𐎡𐎠𐎡 / tugt n, 𐎲𐎡𐎠𐎡 / kigaṇ d / n, 𐎠𐎡𐎠𐎡 / bzzaf n, 𐎠𐎡𐎠𐎡 / aznnir n “many, a lot of”

ᲚᲟᲕ Რ ᲘᲗᲐᲗᲓ / kada d middn	“many people”
ᲛᲔᲔᲙᲞ Ბ ᲒᲘᲨᲙᲟᲢᲓ / attaş n tmlalin	“many eggs”
ᲛᲔᲔᲙᲞ Ბ ᲓᲘᲘᲐᲗᲟᲕᲗᲙᲟᲢᲓ / attaş n imddukkal	“many friends”
ᲞᲟᲡᲞᲑ Ბ ᲒᲙᲙᲟᲢᲓ / tugt n wawal	“too much talk”
ᲗᲗᲗᲟᲑ Ბ ᲓᲗᲨᲓᲘᲟᲑᲓ / kigan n idlisn	“a lot of books”
ᲙᲙᲙᲟᲗᲓ Ბ ᲓᲗᲗᲙᲟᲢᲓ / bzzaf n iḥllaln	“a lot of lies”
ᲙᲟᲢᲓᲗᲟᲑ Ბ ᲙᲟᲗᲟᲕᲓ / aznnir n uyrum	“a lot of bread”

- 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹 / anct d, 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹 / yayd d “many”

᠋ᠣᠭᠲᠠᠨᠤᠯᠤᠰᠤᠨ / anct d tmuryi	“many crickets”
ᠤᠯᠤᠰᠤᠨᠤᠯᠤᠰᠤᠨ / ʏayd d izgarn	“big cattle”
᠋ᠣᠭᠲᠠᠨᠤᠯᠤᠰᠤᠨ / anct uya n udfl	“a lot of snow”

- 𐤀𐤍 / qaε, 𐤀𐤍𐤕 / qah “all”

$\Sigma_{\circ} \cup \Sigma^{\wedge} \cap \Pi$ / qae middn	“all the people”
$\Sigma_{\circ} \cap \Sigma^{\circ} \cap \Sigma^{\circ}$ / qaḥ irgazn	“all the men”
$\Sigma_{\circ} \cap \Sigma^{\circ} \cap \Sigma^{\circ} \cap \Pi$ / qaḥ isiwann	“all the eagles”

- 𐎧𐎺 / ku, 𐎧𐎺𐎠 / kul, 𐎧𐎺𐎠𐎧 / kud “every”

ᠰᠤ᠋ᠭᠦᠨ ᠲᠠᠮᠣᠷᠲ / kul tagmart	“each mare”
ᠰᠤ᠋ᠬᠤ ᠲᠠᠮᠤᠷᠲ / ku tamyard	“each woman”
ᠰᠤ᠋ᠵᠢᠨ ᠠᠰᠭᠡᠭ᠎ᠠᠰ / mkul asgg ^{was}	“each year”

g. NPs with partitives

- KO. l / kra n, CO. l / ca n “some”

᠘ᠣᠤ ᠤᠲᠤᠰᠤᠰᠤᠨᠢᠨᠢ / ca n teyyalin	“some women / girls”
᠘ᠣᠤ ᠤᠰᠤᠯᠠᠨᠢ / can n iwdan	“some people”

- ᠕ᠣᠵᠣᠳᠤ / drus n, ᠰᠤᠴᠤᠰᠤᠨᠢ / imikk n, ᠴᠤᠯᠣᠰᠤᠲᠤ / cwayt n, ᠢᠬᠣᠰᠤᠨᠢ / lbəḍ n “a little, some”

᠕ᠣᠵᠣᠳᠤ ᠤᠰᠤᠵᠣᠰᠤᠨᠢ / drust n izriran	“little make-up”
ᠰᠤᠴᠤᠰᠤ ᠤᠰᠤᠲᠤ / imik n tisnt	“little salt”
ᠴᠤᠯᠣᠰᠤᠲᠤ ᠤᠰᠤᠵᠣᠰᠤᠨᠢ / cwayt n iwzan	“little wheat semolina”
ᠢᠬᠣᠰᠤᠨᠢ ᠤᠰᠤᠯᠠᠨᠢ / lbəḍ n iwdan	“some people”

h. NPs with morphemes of otherness: ᠶᠣᠳᠤᠨᠢᠨᠢ / yaḍnin, ᠶᠣᠳᠤᠨᠢ / yaḍn, ᠤᠰᠤᠨᠢᠨᠢ / niḍn “other”

The determiner ᠶᠣᠳᠤᠨᠢᠨᠢ / yaḍnin (and its variants) is post-posed to the noun it refers to.

ᠤᠰᠤᠨᠢᠨᠢ ᠶᠣᠳᠤᠨᠢᠨᠢ / ussan yaḍnin	“the other days”
ᠤᠲᠤᠰᠤᠰᠤᠨᠢᠨᠢ ᠶᠣᠳᠤᠨᠢ / tieyyalin yaḍn	“the other women”
ᠮᠤᠯᠤᠯᠤᠨᠢ ᠤᠰᠤᠨᠢᠨᠢ / mullu niḍn	“another time”
ᠤᠯᠤᠮᠤᠰᠤᠨᠢ ᠤᠰᠤᠨᠢᠨᠢ / ultmas niḍn	“his / her other sister”

i. NPs with demonstrative determiners

A demonstrative NP consists of a noun determined by a demonstrative morpheme expressing proximity ᠕ / d “by here”, remoteness ᠤᠨ / n “there” or absence ᠢᠨᠠ / nna “in question”. The demonstrative morphemes have a deictic locative value in the sense that they specify the time and space where the noun is located, i.e. whether it is near, far or absent. They confer a value of definiteness to the noun. These morphemes fall under three types; they are laid out in what follows:

- ᠕ / **ad** (or one of its reduced forms ᠣ / a, ᠤᠨ / u) to express proximity:

ᠤᠲᠤᠰᠤᠨᠢ ᠕ / ᠤᠲᠤᠰᠤᠨᠢ ᠣ / ᠤᠲᠤᠰᠤᠨᠢ ᠤᠨ
 abrid ad / abrid a / abrid u
 “this way, path”

- ᠤᠨᠢ / **ann**, ᠰᠤᠨᠢ / **inn** to express remoteness:

ᠤᠲᠤᠰᠤᠨᠢ ᠤᠨᠢ / ᠤᠲᠤᠰᠤᠨᠢ ᠰᠤᠨᠢ
 abrid ann / abrid inn
 “that way, path”

- **𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎧 / lli, 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎧 / nni, 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎧 / nna** to express absence:

•ΘΟΞΛ ΙΙΞ / •ΘΟΞΛ ΙΙ• / •ΘΟΞΛ ΙΙΙΞ
abrid nni / abrid nna / abrid lli
“the path in question”

j. Genitive NP: the noun and its complement

The genitive NP expresses possession. It consists of a noun (or one of its substitutes) followed by the genitive preposition l / n “of” and another noun or pronominal complement.

†.ΛΛ.○† †Ξ◻. / taddart n tima	“the house of my maternal grandfather”
†.ΛΛ.○† ⊙ / taddart nns	“his / her house”
†.ΛΛ.○† Ψ / taddart nny	“our house”

k. NPs with quality nouns

This sort of NP consists of a noun and a quality noun. The quality noun defines and provides specifications about the quality and state of the noun it modifies:

ΞΑΙΞΟΙ ΞΕΜΕΣΟΙ / ihnjirn imzzyann	“young boys”
†Ξ†ΘΞΟΞ† †°CΠΞΠΞ† / titbirin tumlilin	“white doves”

1. NPs with a relative clause

This sort of NP is definite and bifurcates into three categories:

- **Without a relative pronoun**

༨ལེ་མཁའ་ལྔ་། / aydi immutn	“the dog which is dead”
༨ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་། / arba immuddan	“the child who has travelled”
༨ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་། / tinml irzmn	“The school which is open“

- **Antecedent (subject) + relative pronoun + participle**

᠔᠕ᠡ ᠶ᠋ᠢᠨ ᠰᠢᠴᠣᠨᠤᠯᠤᠰᠤ	/ aydi lli immutn	“the dog which is dead”
ᠣᠣᠨ ᠠᠨ ᠰᠢᠴᠣᠨᠠᠯᠠᠨᠤᠯᠤᠰᠤ	/ arba da immuddan	“the child who has travelled”
ᠲᠢᠶᠢᠨᠠᠨ ᠶᠢᠨ ᠰᠢᠴᠣᠨᠠᠨᠤᠯᠤᠰᠤ	/ tinml nni i irzmn	“ the school which is open”

- **Antecedent (object, complement) + relative pronoun + conjugated verb**

ሩዕዮ ተጠሃርተ ለእሁ ደጃጃጃ yufa talymt nni ya izzg. “He found the she-camel to milk.”
ደጋዮ ተደርርደ ለእሁ ደጋዮ ደተሰጠዎ. isya tiggmi lli s ar ittwarga. “He bought the house in which he has always dreamt.”

5.3. NP and coordination

An NP may consist of two nouns linked to each other by a coordinating morpheme. This sort of NPs meets all the functions of a noun.

The most commonly used morpheme of coordination in Amazigh is ለ / d “and, with”:

ተጽዋሎ ለ ደዋ / tagg ^w lla d uyu	“porridge and milk”
ደጋጋጃጃ ለ ተጠጠጥ / iḥrmucn d trbatin	“the boys and the girls”
ተጠጠጥ ለ ተጠጠጥ / tamment d wudi	“honey and butter”
ነጃጃ ለ ተጠጠጥ / nkkin d wuma	“my brother and me”
ተተገረ ለ ተጠጠጥ / ntnni d uslmad	“they and the teacher”

Coordinators include also:

- Coordinators used to choose between two alternatives: ከ(ለ) / ny(d), ከከ(ለ) / niy(d), ር(ለ) / ma(d) “or”:

ደጋጋጃጃ ከ ለ ደጋጋጃጃ / assa ny d askka	“Today or tomorrow?”
ደጋጋጃጃ ከ ከ ለ ደጋጋጃጃ / azgg ^w ay niy d awray	“The red or the yellow?”
ተጠጠጥ ለ ተጠጠጥ / wad ma d tad	“This one or that one?”

- Coordinators with a cumulative value: ደጋጋጃጃ / ula “and, too”

ደጋጋጃጃ ደጋጋጃጃ ተጠጠጥ / irgazn ula tieyyalin	“the men and the women, too”
ደጋጋጃጃ ደጋጋጃጃ / anzar ula adfl	“rain and snow, too”

CHAPTER 4

The pronoun

The pronoun stands for any unit that can be substituted by a noun or a noun phrase. Its prime function is to avoid the repetition of a noun by acting as a replacement of this noun in a phrase.

Pronouns include:

- personal pronouns;
- possessive pronouns;
- demonstrative pronouns;
- interrogative pronouns;
- indefinite pronouns.

1. Personal pronouns

A personal pronoun may take a variety of forms on the basis of the function it has in the phrase: subject pronoun (affix or independent), direct object, indirect object, object of a preposition or noun complement (ordinary or of kinship). Each set of pronouns has six person forms: three in singular and three in plural. Personal pronouns bifurcate into two categories: independent pronouns and affix pronouns or clitics.

1.1. Independent or autonomous personal pronouns

Independent pronouns, dubbed also autonomous pronouns, behave as NPs and have all their functions. Independent pronouns may function as:

- a subject (topic indicator)

ΛΛΞΥ ΙΚΚΞ. / ddiy nkki.	“I, myself, went.”
ΙΚΚΞ ΛΛΞΥ. / nkki ddiy.	“I went.”

- a predicate of a non-verbal phrase

Λ ԼԺԺ. / d nttat.	“It is her.”
ՅՕ Λ ԼԺԺ. / ur d nttat.	“It is not her.”

Not unlike the NP, an independent pronoun may be emphasized and, thereby, moved to an initial position of a sentence as much as it can be left at the end. It can also be used to highlight a subject or object clitic pronoun.

ԼՔՔԷԼ, Օ.ԸԿ. / nkkin, rahy.	“I, myself, went.”
Օ.ԸԿ, ԼՔՔԷԼ. / rahy, nkkin.	“I went.”
ԼԺԺ, ՇՇԿ ԺԺ. / nttat, ssny tt.	“She, I know her.”
ՇՇԿ ԺԺ, ԼԺԺ. / ssny tt, nttat.	“I know her, (she).”

The independent pronoun is characterised by the diversity of its forms. It can take a simple form (ԼՔՔ / nkk “me”, ՔԸ / km “you, fem.”) or a full form (ԼՔՔԷԼ / nkkin, ՔԸԸԷԼ / kmmin). At the phonetic level, the pronouns’ occlusive consonants may well take the form of fricatives, a case observed, for instance, in the first singular person pronoun (ԼՔՔ / nkk → ԼՇՇ / ncc).

Table 1: Independent personal pronouns

	Masculine	Feminine
Sing.	1 st pers: ԼՔՔ / nkk «I, me» 2 nd pers: ՔՅՅ / kyy «you» 3 rd pers: ԼԺԺ. / nttat «he»	1 st pers: ԼՔՔ / nkk «I, me» 2 nd pers: ՔԸԸ / kmm «you» 3 rd pers: ԼԺԺ. / nttat «she»
Plr.	1 st pers: ԼՔՔԷԼ / nkkni «we» 2 nd pers: ՔԼԷ / knni «you» 3 rd pers: ԼԺԷ, ԼԺԷԼ // nttni, ntnin «they»	1 st pers: ԼՔՔԷԼ, ԼՔՔԷԼԺ // nkknti, nkknint «we» 2 nd pers: ՔԼԷԺ, ՔԼԷԺԷ // knnint, knninti «you» 3 rd pers: ԼԺԷԺ, ԼԺԷԺԺ // ntnti, ntnint «they»

As regards the first and second person, a whole range of other forms are observed:

1st person:

sing.: ԼՇ / nc, ԼՇՇ / nic

masc. plr.: ԼՇԷ / ncni, ԼՇՇԷԼ / nccin, ԼՇԷԼ / ncnin

fem. plr.: ԼՇՇԷԼԺ / nccint, ԼՇԷԺԺ / ncnint

2nd person:

masc. sing.: ᐃᓃᓃᓃ / kyyi, ᐃᐃᐃ / ckk, ᐃᓃᓃ / cgg

fem. sing.: ᐃᐃ / cm, ᐃᐃᐃᓃᓃᓃ / kmmin, ᐃᐃᐃᓃᓃᓃ / kmmini

masc. plr.: ᐃᓃᓃᓃᓃ / knniw, ᐃᓃᓃᓃᓃ / knnuni

fem. sing.: ᐃᓃᓃᐃᓃ / knnimt

3rd person:

masc. plr.: ᓃᓃᓃᓃᓃ (ᓃᓃᐃᓃᓃ) / nitni (nihni), ᓃᓃᓃᓃᓃ / titni

fem. plr.: ᓃᓃᓃᓃᓃᓃ / nnitnint

1.2. Affixal personal pronouns

Affixal personal pronouns stand for noun substitutes that are cliticised to verbs or affixed to nouns and prepositions. They stand out from independent pronouns by not having the same syntactic characteristics of the NPs they substitute. We can, therefore, say:

ᐃᐃᐃᐃ, ᓃᓃᓃᓃᓃᓃᓃ / ᐃᓃᓃᓃᓃ, ᓃᓃᓃᓃᓃᓃᓃᓃ	“Hemmou, I have seen him.”
ᓃᓃᓃᓃ, ᓃᓃᓃᓃᓃᓃᓃᓃ / nnta, ᓃᓃᓃᓃᓃᓃᓃᓃᓃ	“(He), I have seen him.”

But we cannot say:

*ᓃ, ᓃᓃᓃᓃᓃᓃᓃᓃᓃ / *ᓃᓃᓃᓃᓃᓃᓃᓃᓃᓃᓃ

“*him, I have seen him.”

a. Subject affixal pronouns

Under this category, subject affixal pronouns, dubbed also person markers, are affixed to the stem of the verb. To the exception of the participle, any verbal form, obligatorily, has a person marker which is linked to its stem.

Depending on the person, the affixal pronoun may either be prefixed: ᓃ / i... (3rd masc. sing.), ᓃ / t... (3rd fem. sing.), ᓃ / n... (1st plr.), suffixed: ...ᓃᓃ / y (1st sing.), ...ᓃᓃ / n (3rd masc. plr.) ...ᓃᓃᓃ / nt (3rd fem. plr.), or discontinuous: ᓃ / t...ᓃᓃ / ᐃ (2nd sing.), ᓃ / t...ᐃᓃ / m (2nd masc. plr.) and ᓃ / t...ᐃᓃᓃ / mt (2nd fem. plr.). The first singular or plural person as well as the second singular person do not exhibit any gender change. Put in another way, the affix pronoun does not change if the speaker is masculine or feminine.

Two sorts of personal pronouns are observed: the first can be used with all verbal moods except the imperative (cf. Table 1, 5.1.2), while the second is limited to the imperative mood only (cf. Table 2, 5.1.2).

b. Affixal pronouns that refer to the object

Amazigh recognises two sorts of object pronouns: direct object pronouns and indirect object pronouns. These pronouns may well precede or follow the verb depending on the presence or absence of certain morphemes, such as aspectual particles, negation and interrogation tools as well as subordinate conjunctions.

ⵏⵏ ⵏⵏ ⵏⵏ ⵏⵏⵏⵏ ⵏⵏⵏⵏ. / ad awn d awin aman. “They will bring you water.”	
ⵏⵏⵏⵏ ⵜ. / iswa t.	“He drank it.”
ⵏⵏ ⵜ ⵏⵏⵏⵏⵏ. / ur t iswi.	“He did not drink it.”
ⵏⵏ ⵜ ⵏⵏⵏⵏ. ? / is t iswa ?	“Did he drink it?”

ⵏⵏⵏⵏ ⵏⵏ ⵜ. / yuca as t. “He gave it to him.”	
ⵏⵏ ⵏⵏ ⵏⵏⵏⵏⵏ. / ur as t yuci.	“He did not give it to him.”
ⵏⵏ ⵏⵏ ⵏⵏⵏⵏⵏ. ? / is as tyuca ?	“Did he give it to him ?”

Table 2: Direct and indirect object pronouns

Direct object pronouns		
	Masc.	Fem.
Sing.	1 st pers: ⵏⵏⵏⵏ / iyi	ⵏⵏⵏⵏ / iyi
	2 nd pers: ⵏⵏ / k	ⵏⵏⵏ / km
	3 rd pers: ⵜ / t	ⵜⵜ / tt
Plr.	1 st pers: ⵏⵏⵏⵏ / a(n)y	ⵏⵏⵏⵏ / a(n)y
	2 nd pers: ⵏⵏⵏ / ⵏⵏ //	ⵏⵏⵏⵏ / k ^{wn} t //
	k ^{wn} / wn	ⵏⵏⵏ / wnt
	3 rd pers: ⵜⵜ / tn	ⵜⵜ / tnt

Indirect object pronouns		
	Masc.	Fem.
Sing.	1 st pers: ⵏⵏⵏⵏ / iyi	ⵏⵏⵏⵏ / iyi
	2 nd pers: ⵏⵏⵏ / ak	ⵏⵏⵏ / am
	3 rd pers: ⵏⵏⵏ / as	ⵏⵏⵏ / as
Plr.	1 st pers: ⵏⵏⵏⵏ / a(n)y	ⵏⵏⵏⵏ / a(n)y
	2 nd pers: ⵏⵏⵏⵏ / ⵏⵏⵏ //	ⵏⵏⵏⵏⵏ / ⵏⵏⵏⵏ //
	ak ^{wn} / awn	ak ^{wn} t / awnt
	3 rd pers: ⵏⵏⵏⵏ / asn	ⵏⵏⵏⵏⵏ / asnt

Irrespective of the nature of the sentence (affirmative, negative, interrogative or exclamative), the indirect object pronoun always precedes the direct object pronoun.

Affirmative sentence:

verb + indir. obj. pron. + dir. obj. pron.

||ႰႮ ႰႮႮ Ⴎ. / nniy asn t. “I told it to them.”

Negative sentence:

neg. + indir. obj. pron. + dir. obj. pron. + verb

ႰႮ ႰႮႮ Ⴎ ||ႰႮ. / ur asn t nniy. “I did not tell it to them.”

Interrogative sentence:

interro. + indir. obj. pron. + dir. obj. pron. + verb

ႰႮ ႰႮႮ Ⴎ ႮႮႮ ? / “Did you tell it to them?”
is asn t tnnam ?

The yes / no interrogative morpheme ႮႮ / ma “is / are / have etc.?”, a free variant of ႰႮ / is, does not engender the movement of object personal pronouns to a position before the verb.

ႮႮ ႮႰႮႮ ႰႮႮ ? / ma siwln asn ? “Did they talk to them ?”

c. Pronouns acting as a noun complement

The pronoun which behaves as a noun complement always follows the noun it specifies irrespective of the syntactic context in which the noun is used.

ႮႮႮႮႮ ႮႮ / taddart nnk	“your (masc.) house”
ႮႮႮႮႮ ႮႮႮ / taddart nnm	“your (fem.) house”
ႰႮႰႮႮ ႮႮႮ / argaz nns	“her husband”
ႮႮႮႮႮ ႮႮႮ / tamyart nns	“his wife”

The nouns ႮႮႮႮႮ / taddart (fem.), ႰႮႰႮႮ / argaz (masc.) and ႮႮႮႮႮ / tamyart (fem.) do not impose their gender markers on the pronoun.

The form of the pronoun varies depending on the nature of the noun it specifies, i.e. if it is a kinship or an ordinary noun. Interestingly, kinship nouns cannot exist without a pronominal complement.

Table 3: Ordinary and kinship pronominal complements

	Ordinary possessive pronominal complements	
	Masc.	Fem.
Sing.	1 st pers: $\xi\text{!}\text{!}$ / inu 2 nd pers: $\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / $\xi\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ // nnk / ink 3 rd pers: $\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / $\xi\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ // nns / ins	$\xi\text{!}\text{!}$ / inu $\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / $\xi\text{!}\text{!}$ // nnm / inm $\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / $\xi\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ // nns / ins
Plr.	1 st pers: $\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / nny 2 nd pers: $\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / $\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ // nnun / nnwm 3 rd pers: $\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / nnsn	$\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / nny $\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / $\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ // nnunt / nnwmt $\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / nnsnt

	Kinship possessive pronominal complements	
	Masc.	Fem.
Sing.	1 st pers: - \emptyset 2 nd pers: - $\text{!}\text{!}$ / -k 3 rd pers: - $\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / -s	- \emptyset - $\text{!}\text{!}$ / -m - $\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / -s
Plr.	1 st pers: - $\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / -tny 2 nd pers: - $\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / -tun 3 rd pers: - $\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / -tsn	- $\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / tny - $\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / -tunt - $\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / -tsnt

In the first person, the pronoun that follows the kinship noun is covert and, therefore, not realized.

$\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / baba	“my father, dad”
$\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}\text{!}$ / ultma	“my sister”

d. Affixal pronouns acting as objects of prepositions

Not unlike verbs and nouns, prepositions may well have affixal pronominal objects. To the exception of the preposition ξ / i “to, for” whose pronominal complement takes the form of an indirect object, all the other prepositions have identical pronominal object forms.

Table 4: affixal pronouns of prepositions

	Masculine form	Feminine form
Sing.	1 st pers: - ξ / - i 2 nd pers: - ƛ / - k 3 rd pers: - ⊙ / - s	1 st pers: - ξ / - i 2 nd pers: - ⊐ / - m 3 rd pers: - ⊙ / - s
Plr.	1 st pers: - !ʏ / ny 2 nd pers: - !⊐ / ! // wm / un 3 rd pers: - ⊙! / sn	1 st pers: - !ʏ / ny 2 nd pers: - !⊐+ / ! + // wmt / unt 3 rd pers: - ⊙!+ / snt

In writing, the preposition and its pronominal complement or object are united (Үрөө / yurs, Үдэ / dars “at his or her house / place”). It is also worthwhile to mention that most prepositions change their form when they are conjoined with a pronoun.

<p>ᲡᲠᲣ. Რ ᲡᲠᲣᲠᲣᲠᲣᲠᲣ. / illa g imuzzar. ᲡᲠᲣ. ᲠᲡᲣᲠ / illa gis.</p>	<p>“He is in Imouzzar.” “He is in it.”</p>
<p>ᲡᲠᲣᲠ ᲠᲡ ᲡᲠᲣ. / iffɣ zi mnud. ᲡᲠᲣᲠᲠ Რ ᲠᲡᲣᲠᲣ. / iffɣ zigs.</p>	<p>“He left Mnoud.” “He left it.”</p>

The preposition ξ / i stands as an exception, as formerly explained, because it can only be followed by an indirect object pronoun.

᠋᠋ᠰᠢ᠋᠋᠋᠋ ᠰ ᠰᠢ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋. / ssiwly i tmyart.	“I talked to the woman.”
᠋᠋ᠰᠢ᠋᠋᠋᠋ ᠋᠋. / ssiwly as.	“I talked to her.”
᠋᠋ᠰᠢ᠋᠋᠋᠋ ᠰ ᠰᠢ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋. / ssiwly i imḥḍarn.	“I talked to the students.”
᠋᠋ᠰᠢ᠋᠋᠋᠋ ᠋᠋᠋. / ssiwly asn.	“I talked to them.”

2. Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns consist of a composite of various diectics that express proximity (◦Λ / ad – ◦ / a – ː / u), remoteness (◦ll / ann – ːll / inn) or absence (lllː / lli – llː / nni – ll◦ / nna – Λ◦ / da) along with a supporting element of determination (ll- / w- (masc.) // t- / t- (fem.)).

Table 5: demonstrative pronouns

	<i>MASCULINE FORM</i>	
	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>Proximity</i>	ᐅᐅᐱ / ᐅᐅ // wad / wa	ᐅᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱ // wid / yina
<i>Remoteness</i>	ᐅᐅᐱᐱ / ᐅᐱᐱ // wann / win	ᐅᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ // winn / yininn
<i>Absence</i>	ᐅᐅᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱᐱ // walli / wnni	ᐅᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ // willi / yinni
	ᐅᐅᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ // wada / wnna	ᐅᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ // wida / winna

	<i>FEMININE FORM</i>	
	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>Proximity</i>	ᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱ // tad / ta	ᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱᐱ // tid / tina
<i>Remoteness</i>	ᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱᐱ // tann / tinn	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ // tinn / tininn
<i>Absence</i>	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ // talli / tnni	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ // tilli / tinni
	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ // tada / tnna	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ // tida / tinna

3. Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns are formed by conjoining supporting elements of determination (ᐅ / w- for the masculine form and ᐱ / t- for the feminine form) with the possessive pronominal complements of nouns (ᐱᐱᐱ / inu, ᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱᐱ-*nnk* / ink, ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ - *nns* / ins) (*cf.* 4.1.2.c). The different paradigms of possessive pronouns are set out in the following tables:

Table 6: possessive pronouns with \mathbb{U} / w (possessed masc. sing.)

	Masculine form	Feminine form
Sing.	1 st pers.: $\mathbb{U}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{X}$ / winu «mine» 2 nd pers.: $\mathbb{U}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{X}$ / winnk «yours» 3 rd pers.: $\mathbb{U}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{O}$ / winns «his»	1 st pers.: $\mathbb{U}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{X}$ / winu «mine» 2 nd pers.: $\mathbb{U}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{C}$ / winnm «yours» 3 rd pers.: $\mathbb{U}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{O}$ / winns «hers»
Plr.	1 st pers.: $\mathbb{U}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{Y}$ / winny «ours» 2 nd pers.: $\mathbb{U}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}$ / winnun «yours» 3 rd pers.: $\mathbb{U}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{O}$ / winnsn «theirs»	1 st pers.: $\mathbb{U}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{Y}$ / winny «ours» 2 nd pers.: $\mathbb{U}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{H}$ / winnunt «yours» 3 rd pers.: $\mathbb{U}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{O}\mathbb{H}$ / winnsnt «theirs»

Table 7: possessive pronouns with \mathbb{U} / w (possessed masc. plr.)

	Masculine form	Feminine form
Sing.	1 st pers.: $\mathbb{U}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{X}$ / winu «mine» 2 nd pers.: $\mathbb{U}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{X}$ / winnk «yours» 3 rd pers.: $\mathbb{U}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{O}$ / winns «his»	1 st pers.: $\mathbb{U}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{X}$ / winu «mine» 2 nd pers.: $\mathbb{U}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{C}$ / winnm «yours» 3 rd pers.: $\mathbb{U}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{O}$ / winns «hers»
Plr.	1 st pers.: $\mathbb{U}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{Y}$ / winny «ours» 2 nd pers.: $\mathbb{U}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}$ / winnun «yours» 3 rd pers.: $\mathbb{U}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{O}$ / winnsn «theirs»	1 st pers.: $\mathbb{U}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{Y}$ / winny «ours» 2 nd pers.: $\mathbb{U}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{H}$ / winnunt «yours» 3 rd pers.: $\mathbb{U}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{O}\mathbb{H}$ / winnsnt «theirs»

Table 8: possessive pronouns with \mathbb{T} / t (possessed fem. sing.)

	Masculine form	Feminine form
Sing.	1 st pers.: $\mathbb{T}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{X}$ / tinu «mine» 2 nd pers.: $\mathbb{T}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{X}$ / tinnk «yours» 3 rd pers.: $\mathbb{T}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{O}$ / tinns «his»	1 st pers.: $\mathbb{T}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{X}$ / tinu «mine» 2 nd pers.: $\mathbb{T}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{C}$ / tinnm «yours» 3 rd pers.: $\mathbb{T}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{O}$ / tins «his»
Plr.	1 st pers.: $\mathbb{T}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{Y}$ / tinny «ours» 2 nd pers.: $\mathbb{T}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}$ / tinnun «yours» 3 rd pers.: $\mathbb{T}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{O}$ / tinnsn «theirs»	1 st pers.: $\mathbb{T}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{Y}$ / tinny «ours» 2 nd pers.: $\mathbb{T}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{H}$ / tinnunt «yours» 3 rd pers.: $\mathbb{T}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{O}\mathbb{H}$ / tinnsnt «theirs»

Table 9: possessive pronouns with \dagger / t (possessed fem. plr.)

	Masculine form	Feminine form
Sing.	1 st pers.: $\dagger\mathfrak{X} \mathfrak{L}$ / tinu «mine» 2 nd pers.: $\dagger\mathfrak{X} \mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{K}$ / tinnk «yours» 3 rd pers.: $\dagger\mathfrak{X} \mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{O}$ / tinns «his»	1 st pers.: $\dagger\mathfrak{X} \mathfrak{L}$ / tinu «mine» 2 nd pers.: $\dagger\mathfrak{X} \mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{C}$ / tinnm «yours» 3 rd pers.: $\dagger\mathfrak{X} \mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{O}$ / tinnsn «his»
Plr.	1 st pers.: $\dagger\mathfrak{X} \mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{Y}$ / tinny «ours» 2 nd pers.: $\dagger\mathfrak{X} \mathfrak{L} \mathfrak{I}$ / tinnun «yours» 3 rd pers.: $\dagger\mathfrak{X} \mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{O} \mathfrak{I}$ / tinnsn «theirs»	1 st pers.: $\dagger\mathfrak{X} \mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{Y}$ / tinny «ours» 2 nd pers.: $\dagger\mathfrak{X} \mathfrak{L} \mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{t}$ / tinnunt «yours» 3 rd pers.: $\dagger\mathfrak{X} \mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{O} \mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{t}$ / tinnsnt «theirs»

4. Interrogative pronouns

An interrogative pronoun substitutes the NP on which the question is asked in a sentence. In general terms, an interrogative pronoun is built on the basis of the element $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{O}$ / *ma* which might be followed with $\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{A}$ / *ad* or $\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{Y}$ / *ay* “it is”. The form of interrogative pronouns varies on the basis of their syntactic function.

- $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{O}$ / *ma* - $\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{X}$ / *wi* - \mathfrak{O} / *u* “who”

When $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{O}$ / *ma*, $\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{X}$ / *wi* or \mathfrak{O} / *u* has a subjective function, the verb should surface in the participial form (cf. 5.1.2.c):

$\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{O}$ $\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{A}$ $\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{O} \mathfrak{O} \mathfrak{I}$ $\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{Y}$? / <i>ma ad iswan atay</i> ?	“Who drank tea?”
$\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{O}$ $\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{Y}$ $\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{Y} \mathfrak{O} \mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{O}$? / <i>ma ay isyan adlis</i> ?	“Who bought the book?”
$\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{X}$ $\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{O}$ $\mathfrak{X} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{O} \mathfrak{O} \mathfrak{A}$? / <i>wi as innan awal ad</i> ?	“Who told him these words?”
\mathfrak{O} $\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{O}$ $\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{Y} \mathfrak{O} \mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{O} \mathfrak{I}$? / <i>u as isyan idlism</i> ?	“Who bought him the books?”

The form $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{O}$ $\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{Y}$ / *ma ay* is realized as $[\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{X}]$ / [mag] when it is followed by the participial form $\mathfrak{X}|\mathfrak{I}$ / *i* ... n.

- $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{O}$ / *ma* - $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{X}|\mathfrak{I}$ / *min* - \mathfrak{O} / *u* “what”

When the interrogative pronouns $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{O}$ / *ma*, $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{X}|\mathfrak{I}$ / *min* and \mathfrak{O} / *u* fill a direct object function, the verb does not take the participial form and is conjugated in one of the four basic themes (cf. 5.1.3):

ፎ. ላ ተጮር ? / ma ad tccam ?	“What did you eat?”
ር፤ ተዘ፤ል ? / min tnnid ?	“What did you say?”
ፎ. ላ ተጻፍል ? / ma ay tẓrid ?	“What did you see?”

- ፎ.ጋ / **manwa** // ፎ.ጋጋ / **manwn** “which (masc.)” ፎ.ተ / **manta** // ፎ.ተጋ / **mantn** “which (fem.)”

Linked to the proximity deictic ጋ / wa or to the remoteness deictic ጋጋ / wn, the form ፎ. / ma is realized as ፎ.ጋ / manwa or ፎ.ጋጋ / manwn. The latter two interrogative pronouns exhibit variation in number and gender as the examples below show.

ፎ.ጋ / ፎ.ጋጋ // manwa / manwn	“which one”
ፎ.ጋ፤ / ፎ.ጋ፤ጋ // manwi / manyn	“which ones”
ፎ.ተ / ፎ.ተጋ // manta / mantn	“which one (fem.)”
ፎ.ተ፤ / ፎ.ተ፤ጋ // manti / mantin	“which ones (fem. plr.)”
ፎ.ጋ፤ ለሌጋ፤ ? / manwi ddanin ?	“which ones left?”
ፎ.ተ. ተፀሃ፤ል ? / manta tsyid ?	“which one (fem.) did you buy?”

- *Interrogative pronoun as object of a preposition*

Such an interrogative pronoun is used when the question targets the object of a preposition. The examples below exhibit the different forms in which interrogative pronouns appear when they target the object of a preposition:

ኧ ርኧ / ኧ ርኧ // i mi / i umi	“to whom”
ፀ ርኧ / ፀ ርኧጸኧ // s mi / s minzi	“with what”
ጸጸ ርኧ / xf mi	“on what”
ሃፀ ርኧ / yur mi	“at whose house”
ላጸ ርኧ / agd mi	“with whom”
ኧ ርኧ ኧፀጋግ ? / i mi isawl ?	“To whom did he speak?”
ኧ ርኧ ኧጋፌ ተርከፌተ ? / i umi iwca ttmnyat ?	“To whom did he give the money?”
ፀ ርኧ ኧፀፀ ላጸጸ፤ ? / s mi ibbi aẓalim ?	“With what did he cut the onion?”
ላጸ ርኧ ኧፀላ ? / agd mi irah ?	“With whom did he go?”

5. Indefinite pronouns

Among the main indefinite pronouns, we may well mention:

a. 𐌲𐌳𐌰 / kra “something, someone”

The indefinite pronoun 𐌲𐌳𐌰 / kra is realized also as 𐌸𐌳𐌰 / cra or 𐌸𐌰 / ca. The form 𐌲𐌳𐌰 / kra, which refers to inanimate objects or things, surfaces unscathed regardless of gender and number variation.

𐌹𐌺𐌹𐌸 𐌲𐌳𐌰. / zriy kra.	“I saw something.”
𐌸𐌹𐌸𐌰 𐌸𐌰. / tnnid ca.	“You told something.”

The indefinite pronoun 𐌲𐌳𐌰 / kra (and its variants) can be followed by the preposition 𐌱 / n along with another indefinite pronoun like 𐌲𐌳𐌰 “someone, noone” or 𐌹𐌺𐌰 / ijj “one” leading to the appearance of phrases like 𐌲𐌳𐌰 𐌱 𐌹𐌺𐌰 / kra n yan, 𐌸𐌰 𐌱 𐌹𐌺𐌰 / ca n ijj, 𐌸𐌰 𐌱 𐌹𐌺𐌰 / cra n yiwn “someone”:

𐌹𐌺𐌰 𐌲𐌳𐌰 𐌱 𐌹𐌺𐌰 ! / zri kra n yan !	“Try to find someone!”
𐌸𐌰 𐌱 𐌹𐌺𐌰 𐌸𐌰 𐌱 𐌹𐌺𐌰. / sawly i ca nijj.	“I talked to someone”.
𐌹𐌺𐌰 𐌸𐌰 𐌱 𐌹𐌺𐌰. / zriy ca n hdd.	“I saw someone.”

b. 𐌵𐌰𐌸𐌰 / 𐌵𐌰𐌸𐌰𐌰 / 𐌵𐌰𐌸𐌰𐌰 (l) - wayḍ / wiyyaḍ / wnnḍni (n) “other(s)”

<i>Masc. Sing.</i>	𐌵𐌰𐌸𐌰 / 𐌵𐌰𐌸𐌰𐌰 / 𐌵𐌰𐌸𐌰𐌰(l) wayḍ / wayyaḍ / wnnḍni(n)
<i>Masc. Plr.</i>	𐌵𐌰𐌸𐌰𐌰𐌰 / 𐌵𐌰𐌸𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰 / 𐌸𐌰𐌸𐌰𐌰𐌰 wiyyaḍ / winnḍnin / yinnḍni
<i>Fem. Sing.</i>	𐌸𐌰𐌸𐌰 / 𐌸𐌰𐌸𐌰𐌰 / 𐌸𐌰𐌸𐌰𐌰(l) tayḍ / tayyaḍ / tnnḍni(n)
<i>Fem. Plr.</i>	𐌸𐌰𐌸𐌰𐌰 / 𐌸𐌰𐌸𐌰𐌰𐌰(l) tiyyaḍ / tinndni(n)

𐌸𐌰𐌸𐌰 𐌵𐌰𐌸𐌰 𐌸𐌰𐌸𐌰 𐌸𐌰𐌸𐌰𐌰. / tnnam awal lli i wiyyaḍ.	“You told that to others.”
𐌸𐌰𐌸𐌰 𐌸𐌰𐌸𐌰. / tdda d tayḍ.	“Another one (fem.) came.”
𐌸𐌰𐌸𐌰 𐌸𐌰𐌸𐌰. / yriy i tnnḍni.	“I called the other (fem.).”

c. 𐌰𐌸𐌰𐌰 / amata “the majority”

𐌰𐌸𐌰𐌰 𐌸𐌰𐌸𐌰 𐌸𐌰. / amata idda d.	“The majority of them came.”
𐌰𐌸𐌰𐌰 𐌸𐌰𐌸𐌰 𐌸𐌰𐌸𐌰𐌰. / amata nnsn iqqim.	“The majority of them did not come.”

The indefinite form 𐌰𐌸𐌰𐌰 / amata is also used in the expression 𐌸𐌰 𐌰𐌸𐌰𐌰 / s umata “the majority”.

𐌸𐌰𐌸𐌰 𐌸𐌰 𐌰𐌸𐌰𐌰. / dda d s umata. “The majority of them came.”

CHAPTER 5

Verbs and verb phrases

Verbs may well appear in a simple form (◦XꞤ / agm “to draw water”, ◦XꞤ / agl “to hang”, ◯◦ꞤꞤ / sawl “to talk”) or in a derived form (††Ꞥ◦XꞤ / ttwagm, ††Ꞥ◦XꞤ / ††Ꞥ◦XꞤ // ttwagl / ttyagl, Ꞥ◯◦ꞤꞤ / msawal). In both cases, verbs are conjugated in one of the following four themes: the aorist, the perfective, the perfective negative or the imperfective. Simple or derived, verbs receive the same verbal markers. Depending on the theme, verbs are preceded by one of the following aspectual particles: ◦Λ / ad, ◯◦Λ (◯◦Λ, X◦Λ) / rad (sad, xad), Λ◦ / da, Ꞥ◦ / la, ◦◯ / ar and ◦ZZ◦ (Z◦) / akka (qa).

1. Simple verbs

1.1. The root and the stem

A simple verb is made up of a root and a stem. The root consists of a consonant or a sequence of consonants that express the lexical and semantic meaning of the verb. The verbs ◦Ꞥ / af “to find” and ◦XꞤ / agl “to hang”, for instance, are made up of the roots Ꞥ / f and XꞤ / gl. The root does not belong to any grammatical category; it is neither a verb nor a noun.

To be realized, a root must be put in the mould of a stem, a sort of frame which usually includes vowels, making it possible for the sequence of vowels and consonants to have a grammatical category. The roots Ꞥ / f and XꞤ / gl are mapped onto the following stem patterns: vc⁹ and vcc, hence the forms ◦Ꞥ / af and ◦XꞤ / agl.

The combination of a root and a stem makes up the verb radical. The conjugated form of the verb obtains by adding verbal markers (gender and person, for instance) to the radical (cf. 4.1.2 a and 5.1.2).

In general terms, verbs are classified on the basis of the number of consonants they have. There are monoliteral (consisting of one consonant),

⁹ c stands for a consonant and v for a vowel.

biliteral (2 consonants), trilateral (3 consonants), quadrilateral (4 consonants) and quinquiliteral (5 consonants) verbs.

a. Monoliteral

ⵅ / g	“to be, to do”
ⵓⵔ / ru	“to weep, to cry”
ⵓⵏ / ⵍⵏ // af / if	“to find”
ⵍⵏ / ini	“to say”
ⵍⵓⵏ / iri	“to like, to love”

b. Biliteral

ⵏⵓ / ns	“to spend the night”
ⵍⵏ / gn	“to sleep”
ⵏⵏⵎ / ddz	“to grind”
ⵍⵏⵓ / gnu	“to sew”
ⵓⵍⵏ / agm	“to draw water”
ⵓⵎⵓ / suḍ	“to blow”
ⵓⵍⵓⵓ / ugur	“to walk”

c. Trilateral

ⵍⵏⵏ / lmd	“to learn”
ⵍⵏⵓ / zdy	“to live, to dwell”
ⵓⵍⵓⵓ / sqsa	“to ask”
ⵓⵍⵓⵍⵓⵓ / ⵓⵍⵓⵓ // ssiwl / sawl	“to speak”

d. Quadrilateral

ⵏⵓⵍⵓ / dryl	“to be blind”
ⵍⵏⵍⵏ / gmgm	“to stammer”
ⵏⵓⵏⵏ / drdm	“to stumble”
ⵓⵍⵓⵍⵓ / bbrkn	“to be black”

1.2. Verbal inflections

Three types of verbal inflection markers are observed in Amazigh: the non-imperative form (*cf.* 4.1.2 a), the imperative form and the participial form markers.

a. Inflectional markers of the non-imperative form

These inflectional markers are affixed to the verb irrespective of the theme in which it is conjugated (aorist, perfective, negative perfective or imperfective). The inflectional markers can be prefixed and / or suffixed as laid out in the table below:

	Masculine form	Feminine form
Sing.	1 st pers. ---- ʁ / ---- ɣ 2 nd pers. † ---- ʌ / t ---- d 3 rd pers. ʒ ---- / i ----	1 st pers. ---- ʁ / ---- ɣ 2 nd pers. † ---- ʌ / t ---- d 3 rd pers. † ---- / t ----
Plr.	1 st pers. l ---- / n ---- 2 nd pers. † ---- ʈ / t ---- m 3 rd pers. ---- l / ---- n	1 st pers. l ---- / n ---- 2 nd pers. † ---- ʈ† / t ---- mt 3 rd pers. ---- l† / ---- nt

- Some of the markers set out above have variants. The first singular person ʁ / ɣ is also realised as ʁ / x or ʁ / h.
- The discontinuous inflectional morpheme † ... ʌ / t ... d of the second singular person can also appears as † ... † / t ... t (†ʁʁʁʁʁʁʁ / tffɣd or †ʁʁʁʁʁ† / tffɣt “you got out”).

The inflectional marker ʒ / i of the third masculine singular person is pronounced ʒ / y when the verb has a vocalic initial.

ʒ + ʁʁʁʁʁʁʁ → ʒʁʁʁʁʁʁʁ / yumʒ “He grasped, he held”

ʒ + ʁʁʁʁʁ → ʒʁʁʁʁʁ / yiwi “He took”

The inflectional marker † ... ʈ / t ... mt of the second feminine plural person may be realized as † ... l† / t ... nt by assimilation of ʈ / m to † / t.

b. The imperative mood inflectional markers

The inflectional markers of the imperative form are always suffixed to the verbal stem:

Table 2: inflectional markers of the imperative form

	Masculine form	Feminine form
Sing.	2 nd pers. ---- Ø	2 nd pers. ---- Ø
Plr.	2 nd pers. ---- ʁ† / † // ---- at / t 2 nd pers. ---- ʈ / ---- m	2 nd pers. ---- ʁʈ† / ʈ† // ---- amt / mt

ተ.ርዕዮ.ዐተ ጸዘዘዋ / tamyart iffyn	“the woman who went out”
ተጸርዕዮ.ዐጸገ ዘዘዋጸገ / timyarin ffynin	“the women who went out”
ዐ.ዐፀ. ጸተዘዘዋ / arba ittffyn	“the boy who always goes out”
ዐ.ዐፀ. ዮ. ጸዘዘዋ / arba ya iffyn	“the boy who will go out”
ዐ.ዐፀ. ዘዘጸ ዐ. ጸዘዘዋ / arba lli ra iffy	“the boy who will go out”

The participial form of the aorist may well be used with ዮ / ya and ዐ ዮ / a ya which are contextual variants of ዐፈ / ad.

ፈርር፡ ጸ ዮ. ጸፈፈ፡. / ስmmu i ya iddun. “It is Hemmou who will go.”

1.3. Verbal themes

a. The aorist

The aorist surfaces in the same form of the stem of the second singular person of the imperative mood (*cf.* 5.1.4). However, the usual verbal markers are cliticised to the verb when it is conjugated.

ዐፈ፤ / awi “take+aorist”	ዐፈ፤ ! / awi! “take ! (imperative)”
ፖፍፍ / kcm “enter+aorist”	ፖፍፍ ! / kcm! “enter ! (imperative)”
ጸዐ፤ / zri “cross+aorist”	ጸዐ፤ ! / zri! “cross ! (imperative)”

The aorist may well be construed as the basic form from which all the other verbal themes are derived. More often than not, it is preceded by the particle ዐፈ / ad which expresses different semantic values, the future included, or by ዐዐፈ / rad which expresses the future value only.

ዐፈ ጸዐፈ፡. / ad irwl.	“He will run away.”
ጸጸ ዐፀ ዐፈ ጸፈፈ፡. / ini as ad iddu.	“Tell him to leave.”
ዐዐፈ ጸዘዘዋ. / rad iffyn.	“He will go out.”
ዐዐፈ ሂሂጸርገ ጸ ተጸርርጸ. / rad qqimn g tgmml.	“They will stay at home.”

If the verb is used in listing a number of actions or in narration contexts, the aorist is not preceded by the particle ዐፈ / ad and may express semantic values other than the future.

- ዐፈ ጸዐ.ፈ ፈ ፀ.ፀ.ፀ, ጸጸፖ ፡ፍ.ፀ, ጸፀፀጸፈ፡ ዐፀ ጸዘ ተርዕዮ.

ad irahl d babas, izr umas, issiwl as xf tmyra.

He will go with his father, see his brother and talk to him about the marriage ceremony.

b. Positive perfective

The positive perfective theme (which goes also under the name of the positive preterite) shows that the action of the verb is finished. To be conjugated, perfective verbs get the same verbal markers (person markers) as the ones seen before (*cf. 5.1.2. table n°1*).

For a number of verbs, the perfective and aorist themes are identical. When such identity holds, the verbs are considered to be regular.

Aorist		Perfective	
᠋᠎ᠠ ᠰᠢᠴᠢᠯᠢ ad imun	“he will accompany”	ᠰᠢᠴᠢᠯᠢ imun	“he accompanied”
᠋᠎ᠠ ᠰᠢᠬᠢᠬᠢᠠᠭᠤ ad iffᠢ	“he will go out”	ᠰᠢᠬᠢᠬᠢᠠᠭᠤ iffᠢ	“he went out”
᠋᠎ᠠ ᠰᠢᠵᠠᠭᠤ ad izdy	“he will live”	ᠰᠢᠵᠠᠭᠤ izdy	“he lived”

For other verbs, the perfective theme is different from the aorist theme. These verbs are irregular.

Aorist		Perfective	
᠋᠎ᠠ ᠰᠢᠯᠢᠨ ad ilin	“they will be”	ᠠᠯᠢᠨ llan	“they were”
᠋᠎ᠠ ᠰᠢᠯᠢᠭᠤ ad iniᠢ	“I will say”	ᠠᠯᠢᠭᠤ nniᠢ	“I said”
᠋᠎ᠠ ᠰᠢᠭᠤᠰᠢᠭᠤ ad afᠢ	“I will find”	ᠠᠯᠢᠭᠤᠰᠢᠭᠤ ufiᠢ	“I found”
᠋᠎ᠠ ᠰᠢᠣᠰᠢᠯᠢ ad irin	“they will need”	ᠠᠣᠰᠢᠯᠢ ran	“they need(ed)”

The perfective form of this class of verbs is different from the aorist form by a vocalic alternation sometimes concomitant with consonantal gemination.

More often than not, it is vocalic alternation that is observed and not consonantal gemination. In fact, the vowel of the stem is subject to change and alternates with another vowel that may obtain at the initial, middle or final position. The different alternations observed are laid out as follows:

- օ- / a- > օ- / u- alternation at the initial position

Aorist		Perfective	
օՆ օՇճԿԿ ad amzy	“I will hold”	օՇճԿԿ umzy	“I held”
օՆ օՃԿԿ ad agly	“I will hang”	օՃԿԿ ugly	“I hung”
օՆ օՃՃԿԿ ad azzly	“I will run”	օՃՃԿԿ uzzly	“I ran”

It should also be noted that verbs with an initial vowel օ- / a- followed by a semi-consonant Ա / w exhibit a different vocalic alternation. The alternation of the initial vowel of such verbs obtains in the following pattern: օ- / a- > ի- / i-:

Aorist		Perfective	
օՆ օԱԻԿԿ ad awiy	“I will take”	իԱԻԿԿ iwi	“I took”
օՆ օԱԿԿ ad awly	“I will marry”	իԱԿԿ iwl	“I got married”
օՆ օԱԵԿԿ ad awdy	“I will arrive”	իԱԵԿԿ iwd	“I arrived”

- օ- / a- > օ- / u- alternation at the medial position

Aorist		Perfective	
օՆ ՃՃ.ԿԿԿ ad ggally	“I will swear”	ՃՃ.ԿԿԿ ggully	“I swore”
օՆ ՇՇ.ՕԿԿ ad ccary	“I will fill”	ՇՇ.ՕԿԿ ccury	“I filled”
օՆ իԿ.Կ ad ilal	“he will be born”	իԿ.Կ ilul	“he was born”

- Zero alternation and final vowel insertion

This class of verbs, when conjugated in the perfective form, is characterized by the appearance of a vowel at the ultimate position, a vowel absent in the aorist form.

Aorist		Perfective	
օՆ ՃԿ / ad gy	“I will be”	ՃԻԿ / gi	“I am / was”
օՆ իԿ / ad inz	“It will be sold”	իԿ. / inza	“It is / was sold”
օՆ իԿՉ / ad izr	“he will see”	իԿՉ. / izra	“he saw”

In the first and second singular persons, the perfective theme of a number of verbs is marked by the appearance of a final vowel ξ - / i-; in other persons, the same vowel is rendered as \circ - / a-, as set out in the conjugation of the verb $\odot\psi$ / sy “to buy” below:

Table 4: Conjugation of the verb $\odot\psi$ / sy “to buy”

	Masculine form	Feminine form
Sing.	$\odot\psi\xi\psi$ / syiy «I bought» $\dagger\odot\psi\xi\Lambda$ / tsyid «you bought» $\xi\odot\psi\circ$ / isya «he bought»	$\odot\psi\xi\psi$ / syiy «I bought» $\dagger\odot\psi\xi\Lambda$ / tsyid «you bought» $\dagger\odot\psi\circ$ / tsya «she bought»
Plr.	$\text{I}\odot\psi\circ$ / nsya «we bought» $\dagger\odot\psi\circ\Gamma$ / tsyam «you bought» $\odot\psi\circ\text{I}$ / syan «they bought»	$\text{I}\odot\psi\circ$ / nsya «we bought» $\dagger\odot\psi\circ\Gamma\dagger$ / tsyamt «you bought» $\odot\psi\circ\text{I}\dagger$ / syant «they bought»

Final alternation is not observed only in verbs with the pattern zero alternation and final vowel insertion; it is also observed in verbs with double alternations (initial and final) as in $\xi\text{O}\xi$ / iri “to want”, $\xi\text{I}\xi$ / ini “to say” and $\xi\text{I}\xi$ / ili “to be, to exist”:

$\text{O}\xi\psi$ / riγ	“I need”	$\text{I}\xi\psi$ / nniγ	“I told”
$\dagger\text{O}\xi\Lambda$ / trid	“you need”	$\dagger\text{I}\xi\Lambda$ / tnnid	“you told”
$\xi\text{O}\circ$ / ira	“He needs”	$\xi\text{I}\circ$ / inna	“He told”
$\text{O}\circ\text{I}$ / ran	“They need”	$\text{I}\circ\text{I}$ / nnan	“They told”

- Verbs with double vocalic alternations (initial and final)

$\circ\Lambda\circ\text{II}\psi$ / ad ajjγ	“I will let”	$\circ\text{II}\xi\psi$ / ujjiγ	“I let”
$\circ\Lambda\circ\text{III}$ / ad ajjn	“they will let”	$\circ\text{II}\circ\text{I}$ / ujjan	“they let”
$\circ\Lambda\circ\text{H}\psi$ / ad afγ	“I will find”	$\circ\text{H}\xi\psi$ / ufiγ	“I found”
$\circ\Lambda\circ\text{H}\text{I}$ / ad afn	“They will find”	$\circ\text{H}\circ\text{I}$ / ufan	“they found”

- Vocalic alternation (vowel > zero vowel (in initial position)) along with consonantal gemination and final ξ / i - \circ / a alternation

ႱႱ / ini “to tell” →	ႱႱႱ / nniy	“I told”
	ႱႱႱႱ / tnnid	“you told”
	ႱႱႱ / inna	“he told”
	ႱႱႱ / nnan	“they told”

ႱႱႱ / ili “to be” →	ႱႱႱႱ / lliy	“I am”
	ႱႱႱႱႱ / tllid	“you are”
	ႱႱႱႱ / illa	“he is”
	ႱႱႱႱ / llan	“they are”

c. Negative perfective

The negative perfective theme (which goes also by the name of negative preterite) is a variant of the positive perfective theme. It is used when the verb is preceded by the morpheme of negation ႱႱ / ur (*cf.* 8.2.1). The main feature that specifies this theme is the appearance of vowel Ⴑ / i before the final consonant of the verb stem if such consonant exists.

Perfective		Negative Perfective	
ႱႱႱႱ / umzy	“I held”	ႱႱ ႱႱႱႱႱ / ur umizy	“I did not hold”
ႱႱႱႱ / krzy	“I ploughed”	ႱႱ ႱႱႱႱႱ / ur krizy	“I did not plough”
ႱႱႱ / inna	“he said”	ႱႱ ႱႱႱႱ / ur inni	“he did not say”
ႱႱႱ / ran	“they want”	ႱႱ ႱႱႱႱ / ur rin	“they do not want”

Some verbs do not exhibit any alteration in their negative form; put in another way, their positive and negative forms are identical.

Perfective		Negative Perfective	
ႱႱႱႱ / muny	“I accompanied”	ႱႱ ႱႱႱႱ / ur muny	“I did not accompany”
ႱႱႱႱႱ / nurar	“We danced.”	ႱႱ ႱႱႱႱႱ / ur nurar	“We did not dance.”
ႱႱႱႱႱ / azumn	“They fasted.”	ႱႱ ႱႱႱႱႱ / ur azumn	“They did not fast.”

†‡‡‡† / tmmut	“She died.”	‡‡‡ †‡‡‡† / ur tmmut	“She did not die.”
‡‡‡‡‡‡ / imllul	“It is white.”	‡‡‡ ‡‡‡‡‡‡ / ur imllul	“It is not white.”

d. The imperfective

The imperfective theme expresses action progressiveness; it usually meets habitual, intensive or iterative ends. The repetition of the action may hold in the past, present or future. To the exception of some Amazigh varieties, the imperfective theme of a verb is preceded by one or another of the following aspectual particles ‡‡ / ar, ‡‡ / da, ‡‡ / la, ‡‡‡‡ / aqqa or ‡‡ / ad // ‡‡‡‡ / rad (and their variants) when the action takes place in the future (*cf.* 5.3).

The imperfective theme is derived from the aorist by applying one or more of the following morphological alterations: †† / tt- prefixation, gemination of a root consonant and the insertion of a vowel.

- †† / tt- prefixation: one of the most prominent markers of the imperfective theme:

Aorist	Gloss	Imperfective
‡‡‡ / azu	“to skin”	††‡‡‡ / ttazu
‡‡‡ / ini	“to say”	††‡‡‡ / ttini
‡‡‡ / ddu	“to go”	††‡‡‡ / ttddu
‡‡‡ / awi	“to take”	††‡‡‡ / ttawi
‡‡‡ / usu	“to cough”	††‡‡‡ / ttusu
††‡ / ttu	“to forget”	††‡††‡ / ttettu
‡‡‡ / mun	“to be united”	††‡‡‡ / ttmun
‡‡‡‡‡ / imim	“to be sweet”	††‡‡‡‡‡ / ttimim

- Gemination of one of the root consonants: a simple consonant in the aorist form becomes tense in the imperfective form. Gemination is generally observed in the medial consonant of trilateral verbs as well as in the first or second consonant of bilateral verbs:

Aorist	Gloss	Imperfective
‡‡‡ / lmd	“to learn”	‡‡‡‡‡ / lmmmd
‡‡‡‡ / řzm	“to open”	‡‡‡‡‡‡ / řzzm

ርጸዐ / mgr	“to reap”	ርጸጸዐ / mggr
ጸለሂ / zdy	“to live”	ጸለለሂ / zddy
ቂዩ። / rdl	“to lend, borrow”	ቂዩዩ። / rttl
ዐጠ። / rwl	“to flee”	ዐጸጸ።። / rgg ^w l
ዐፀ። / rbu	“to put on the back”	ዐፀፀ። / rbbu
ሰሃ / ny	“to kill”	ሰፂፂ / ሰፂፂ። // nqq / nqqa
ጸ። / kl	“to spend the day”	ጸ።። / ጸ።።። // kll / klla
ጸባ / zr	“to see”	ጸባባ። / zrra

The verbal root consonants ። / ፈ, ሠ / w and ሂ / ሃ undergo phonetic changes when they are geminated. ። / ፈ shifts to ።። / ፈፈ, ሠ / w becomes ጸጸ / gg and ሂ / ሃ surfaces as ፂፂ / qq.

- Vowel insertion:

ፀ።።። / ፀ።።።። / sawl / siwl	“to speak”	ፀፀ።።።። / ssawal
ፀጸዐ / skr	“to do”	ፀጸ።። / skar
ፀፀ።።።። / ssfld	“to listen”	ፀፀ።።።።።። / ssflid
ፀፀሂ። / ssyd	“to listen”	ፀፀሂ።። / ssyad

- The gemination of a verbal root consonant along with the alternation: zero vowel > vowel:

Aorist	Gloss	Imperfective
ሰጸ / nz	“to be sold”	ሰጸጸ። / nzza
ጸፀ / ks	“to graze”	ጸፀፀ። / kssa
ጸ። / gn	“to sleep”	ጸጸ።። / ggan
ሂጸ / yz	“to dig”	ፂፂ።። / qqaz
ጸ።። / zd	“to grind”	ጸጸ።።። / zzad
ፀሂ / sy	“to buy”	ፀፀ።። / ssay

As is clear in the aforementioned examples, gemination may affect the first (ፀፀ።። / ssay) or second (ሰጸጸ። / nzza, ጸፀፀ። / kssa) consonant of a verb root.

- Vocalic alternation along with ተተ-(ተ) / tt-(t) prefixation. The vocalic alternation may well hold inside or at the end of the verb.

- Inside the verbal stem:

Aorist	Gloss	Imperfective
lᵊ / ns	“to spend the night”	ttlᵊᵊ (lᵊᵊᵊ) // ttnus (nssa)
lᵊ / nz	“to be sold”	ttlᵊᵊ (lᵊᵊᵊ) // ttnuz (nzza)
ᵊᵊᵊ / azzl	“to run”	ttᵊᵊᵊ (ttᵊᵊᵊ) / ttazzal (ttazzla)
ᵊᵊᵊ / kcm	“to enter”	ttᵊᵊᵊ / ttkcam
ᵊᵊᵊ / krz	“to dig”	ttᵊᵊᵊ / ttkraz
ᵊᵊᵊ / drdr	“to sprinkle”	ttᵊᵊᵊᵊᵊ (ttᵊᵊᵊᵊᵊ) // ttdrdir (ttdrdar)
ᵊᵊᵊ / brkn	“to be black”	ttᵊᵊᵊ / ttbrkin

- At the end of the verb: a final vowel, absent in the aorist form, is added in the imperfective form:

Aorist	Gloss	Imperfective
ᵊᵊ / af	“to find”	ttᵊᵊ / ttafa
ᵊᵊ / rᵊ	“to break”	ttᵊᵊᵊ / ttrᵊᵊ
ᵊᵊᵊ / mud	“to braid”	ttᵊᵊᵊ / ttamuda
ᵊᵊᵊ / azzl	“to run”	ttᵊᵊᵊ / ttazzla
ᵊᵊᵊ / ggall	“to swear”	ttᵊᵊᵊ / ttgalla
ᵊᵊᵊ / sll	“to listen”	ttᵊᵊᵊ / ttslla
ᵊᵊᵊ / zzall	“to pray”	ttᵊᵊᵊ / ttzalla
ᵊᵊᵊ / qqim	“to sit”	ttᵊᵊᵊ / ttyima

The imperfective form of a whole range of verbs is concomitant with the degemination of one of the consonants of the verb root. This is what is observed in verbs like, ᵊᵊᵊ / qqim “to sit”, ᵊᵊᵊ / zzall “to pray” and ᵊᵊᵊ / ggall “to swear”.

Some verbs may have two imperfective forms: one with the gemination of a root consonant, the other with tt- prefixation along with a vocalic alternation (ᵊᵊᵊ / kcm “to get in” > ᵊᵊᵊ / kcm or ttᵊᵊᵊ / ttkcam).

Special imperfective forms

Some verbs exhibit special forms when they are conjugated in the imperfective theme. These forms are at odds with the forms provided before.

Aorist	Gloss	Imperfective
ዓተ / ሀሀተ // ut / wwt	“to beat”	ጸጸዓተ / kkat
ፎፎ / cc	“to eat”	ፎተዓ / ተዓተተ // cttā / tett
፻፳ / fk	“to give”	ዓ፻፳ዓ / akka
ፀፀ። / bḍu	“to divide”	ዓ፻፻። / aṭṭa

1.4. The imperative

The imperative mood bifurcates into two sorts of forms: the simple form and the intensive form. The first consists of the aorist form of the verb along with the imperative inflectional markers (*cf.* 5.1.2 *b*).

፻፻፶ ! / ffḃ !	“go out!”
፻፻፶ዓተ / ፻፻፶፭ ! // ffḃat / ffḃm !	“go out (plr. masc.)!”
፻፻፶ዓ፭ተ / ፻፻፶፭ተ ! // ffḃamt / ffḃmt !	“go out (plr. fem.)!”

The second form of the imperative mood, dubbed *intensive imperative*, is characterized by the use of the imperfective theme alongside with the imperative markers. It expresses a repeated process:

ተተ፻፻፶ ! / ttffḃ !	“(always) go out!”
ተተ፻፻፶(ዓ)፭ተ ! // ttffḃ(a)mt !	“(always) go out (plr. fem.)!”
ፀፀዓ፻፻፶ ፀፀ ! // ssawl as !	“(always) talk to him!”

In the negative imperative form, it is the intensive form of the verb that is frequently used:

ዓፀ ተተ፻፻፶ ! ur ttffḃ !	or	ዓ፻፶ ዓፀ ተተ፻፻፶ ! ad ur ttffḃ !	“Do not go out!”
ዓፀ ተተ፻፻፶ዓ፭ተ ! ur ttffḃamt !	or	ዓ፻፶ ዓፀ ተተ፻፻፶ዓ፭ተ ! ad ur ttffḃamt !	“Do not go out (plr. fem.)!”
ዓፀ ፻፳፳፳ ! ur kccm !	or	ዓ፻፶ ዓፀ ፻፳፳፳ ! ad ur kccm !	“Do not enter!”

Let it be noted that the imperative form with ዓ፻፶ ዓፀ / ad ur expresses a slight semantic undertone if compared to the negative imperative form without ዓ፻፶ / ad. The use of ዓ፻፶ / ad expresses shades of meaning associated with threatening and prohibition.

The ᠠᠯᠤᠰᠤ / ad ur negative imperative form is also used with the aorist form of the verb and the usual verbal markers (*cf.* 5.1.2 a).

oΛ ∅O ††ΛΛ∅C ! / ad ur ttddum !	“Do not go (plr. masc.)!”
oΛ ∅O ††HΛHΛC ! / ad ur ttffym !	“Do not go out (plr. masc.)!”

2. Derived verbs

Derived verbs obtain from simple verbs, by virtue of prefixation of one of the following morphemes: the causative \odot / $\odot\odot$ // s / ss, the passive $\ddagger\ddagger$ / tt and the reciprocal \sqsubset / $\sqsubset\sqsubset$ // m / mm. However, non-derived verbs do not all have a corresponding derived form. Furthermore, while some verbs obtain in the three derived forms, other verbs accept only one or two forms.

Not unlike non-derived forms, the derived forms are conjugated in all the four afore-mentioned themes; they also have an imperative form. In some special contexts, they are observed in the participial form. In the aorist and imperfective themes, the derived forms are used with the same aspectual particles employed with non-derived verbs.

ᠳᠣᠰᠤᠬᠤ ᠰᠢᠠᠭᠡᠣᠷᠢ ! / ssufy imḥḍarn !	“Get the students out!”
ᠰᠣᠳᠣᠰᠤᠬᠤ ᠰᠢᠠᠭᠡᠣᠷᠢ. / issufy imḥḍarn.	“He got the students out!”
ᠤᠳᠤᠮᠤᠨᠰᠢ / msawalnin	“who talked to each other”
ᠣ᠕ ᠰᠣᠳᠣᠰᠤ᠕ᠢ ᠰᠢᠨᠶᠢᠨᠢ ! / ad issidf inbgiwn !	“that he brings the guests in!”
ᠮᠤ ᠰᠣᠳᠣᠰᠤᠬᠤᠭᠤ ᠤᠯᠤᠮ. / la issufuy awal.	“He discloses secrets.”
ᠤᠳᠤᠮᠤᠨᠤᠳᠤ ! / msawalat !	“Talk to each other!”

2.1. The causative form

a. Structure

The causative form, which expresses causality, is used to confer the idea of “making do” or “making happen”. The causative form obtains by prefixing \odot / s-(simple) or $\odot\odot$ / ss- (geminate) to intransitive verbs.

- The non-tense prefix 𐀀- / s- is generally used with verbs that start with a consonant.

𐀁 / ny	“to ride”	→	𐀀𐀁 / sny	“to help someone ride”
𐀂 / gn	“to sleep”	→	𐀀𐀂 / sgn	“to make someone sleep”
𐀃 / ɖɾ	“to go down”	→	𐀀𐀃 / sɖɾ	“to drop”
𐀄𐀅𐀆 / qqim	“to sit down”	→	𐀀𐀄𐀅𐀆 / syim	“to make someone sit”
𐀇𐀈 / mun	“to keep company”	→	𐀀𐀇𐀈 / smun	“to assemble”
𐀉𐀊 / zri	“to cross”	→	𐀀𐀉𐀊 / zzri	“to make someone cross”
𐀋𐀋 / bdd	“to stand up”	→	𐀀𐀋𐀋 / sbdd	“to make someone stand up”
𐀌𐀍 / wala	“to be near”	→	𐀀𐀌𐀍 / swala	“to place near”

- The geminate prefix 𐀀𐀀- / ss- is generally used with vowel-initial verbs and sporadically with consonant-initial. The initial vowel may undergo some alterations.

𐀎𐀏 / aru	“to give birth to”	→	𐀀𐀀𐀎𐀏 / 𐀀𐀀𐀎𐀏 // ssaru / ssiru	“to help a woman deliver”
𐀎𐀍𐀏 / alla	“to weep”	→	𐀀𐀀𐀎𐀍𐀏 / ssalla	“to make someone weep”
𐀎𐀏𐀐 / iriw	“to be broad”	→	𐀀𐀀𐀎𐀏𐀐 / ssiriw	“to broaden”
𐀎𐀏𐀑 / ugur	“to walk”	→	𐀀𐀀𐀎𐀏𐀑 / ssugur	“to make someone walk”
𐀎𐀐𐀑 / awɖ	“to arrive”	→	𐀀𐀀𐀎𐀐𐀑 / ssiwɖ	“to send something to somebody”
𐀎𐀏𐀑𐀒 / arid / irid	“to be washed”	→	𐀀𐀀𐀎𐀏𐀑𐀒 / ssird	“to wash”
𐀎𐀎𐀎 / ɪɖɖ	“to be breastfed”	→	𐀀𐀀𐀎𐀎𐀎 / 𐀀𐀀𐀎𐀎𐀎 // ssuɖɖ / ssuɖɖɖ	“to breastfeed”
𐀎𐀏𐀑 / kcm	“to get in”	→	𐀀𐀀𐀎𐀏𐀑 / sskcm	“to bring in”

- The causative morpheme \ominus - / s- is realised as \mathfrak{X} / z, \mathfrak{C} / c or \mathfrak{I} / j, by assimilation, if the basic form of the verb includes one of the three afore-mentioned consonants:

$\circ\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{I}$ / azzl	“to run”	→	$\ominus\ominus\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{I}$ [$\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{I}$] ssizzl [zzizzl]	“to make run, to commute”
$\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{C}$ / kcm	“to get in”	→	$\ominus\ominus\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{C}$ [$\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{C}$] sskcm [cckcm]	“to bring in”
$\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}$ / jji	“to be cured”	→	$\ominus\ominus\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}$ [$\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}$] ssijji [jjijji]	“to cure”
$\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}$ / jju	“to smell good”	→	$\ominus\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}$ [$\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}$] sujju [jujjju]	“to perfume”

- The prefixation of the causative morpheme \ominus - / s- may induce the degemination of one of the consonants of the verb root ($\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{C}$ / qqim > $\ominus\ominus\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{C}$ / syim, $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{E}$ / ttd > $\ominus\ominus\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{E}$ / ssuḏeḏ).
- The verbs that start with \ominus - / s- are not necessarily causative. The morpheme \ominus - / s- can also function as a verbalizer, i.e. it enables the derivation of a verb from a noun, as illustrated in the following examples:

$\circ\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{I}$ / aḏu	“wind”	→	$\ominus\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{I}$ / suḏ	“to blow”
$\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{I}$ / ufsan	“spitting”	→	$\ominus\ominus\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{O}$ / ssufs	“to spit”
$\circ\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}$ / awal	“talk”	→	$\ominus\ominus\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}$ / $\ominus\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}$ // ssiwł / sawł	“to talk”
$\circ\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}$ / ayuyyu	“screaming”	→	$\ominus\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}$ / $\ominus\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{I}$ // syuyyu / syuyy	“to scream”

b. Conjugation

Not unlike the other derived forms, the causative form is conjugated in the different verbal themes.

- The perfective form

The perfective form of causative verbs is identical to their aorist form.

Aorist	Perfective	Gloss
$\ominus\ominus\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{H}$ ssufy	$\ominus\ominus\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{H}$ ssufy	“to get someone out”

ᠰᠪᠳᠳ sbdd	ᠰᠪᠳᠳ sbdd	“to make someone stand up”
ᠰᠭᠠᠯᠠ sgall	ᠰᠭᠠᠯᠠ sgall	“to make someone swear”
ᠰᠮᠤᠨ smun	ᠰᠮᠤᠨ smun	“to assemble”

- *The imperfective form*

The same processes observed in the formation of the imperfective form may well hold for the causative form, i.e. vocalic alternation and ᠠᠠ- / ᠲᠠ- prefixation. However, it is the vocalic alternation that is more observed.

- *Vocalic alternation*

In general terms, the verbs consisting of a set of consonants and a single vowel evince an alternation within the root, i.e. the appearance of a second vowel (᠎᠎ / a, ᠎᠎ / u or ᠰ / i) before the final consonant of the imperfective verb. The alternation may also hold at the end of the verb. The verbs made up of consonants only may also be subject to vowel insertion.

Aorist	Gloss	Imperfective
ᠰᠰᠠᠳᠠᠹ ssadf	“to bring in”	ᠰᠰᠠᠳᠠᠹ ssadaf
ᠰᠰᠤᠹᠤᠭ ssufy	“to get someone out”	ᠰᠰᠤᠹᠤᠭ ssufuy
ᠰᠰᠤᠬᠤᠹ ssukf	“to uproot”	ᠰᠰᠤᠬᠤᠹ ssukuf
ᠰᠰᠢᠷᠳ ssird	“to wash”	ᠰᠰᠢᠷᠳ ssirid
ᠰᠰᠢᠠᠳᠠᠭ ssiwᠳ	“to send something to somebody”	ᠰᠰᠢᠠᠳᠠᠭ ssiwᠳ
ᠰᠰᠤᠨᠰ ssns	“to make someone spend the night”	ᠰᠰᠤᠨᠰ ssns
ᠰᠰᠢᠷᠠᠭ ssry	“to light”	ᠰᠰᠢᠷᠠᠭ ssrya
ᠰᠰᠢᠯᠢ ssyli	“to lift”	ᠰᠰᠢᠯᠢ ssaqqalay
ᠰᠰᠤᠬᠤᠭ sskcm	“to bring in”	ᠰᠰᠤᠬᠤᠭ sskcam

ᲑᲑᲕᲠ sslkm	“to send something to somebody”	ᲑᲑᲕᲠᲗ sslkam
ᲑᲑᲟᲠᲗ / ᲑᲑᲟᲗᲗ ssrwt / ssrut	“to thresh”	ᲑᲑᲟᲠᲗᲗ ssrwat

-ᲗᲗ / tt- prefixation

This phenomenon may be accompanied with a vocalic alternation, as shown in the following examples:

Aorist	Gloss	Imperfective
ᲑᲑᲗᲗ / sbdd	“to arrest”	ᲗᲗᲑᲑᲗᲗᲗ / ttsbdda
ᲑᲗᲗ / sni	“to help someone ride”	ᲗᲗᲑᲗᲗᲗ / ttsnuya

The imperfective form of causative verbs may exhibit a double vocalic alternation (ᲑᲑᲗᲗᲗ - ᲑᲑᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ / ssyli – ssaqqalay).

2.2. The passive form

a. Structure

Compared to the causative form, the passive form is not used frequently. The passive form is rivaled by the third plural person of non-derived verbs (ᲑᲗᲗᲗᲗ / umṙn t “they arrested him” in place of ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ / ittwamṙ “he was arrested”). In addition, the passive form affects only direct transitive verbs and does not have a direct object. It is expressed by prefixing one of the following morphemes ᲗᲗᲗ / tty-, ᲗᲗᲗᲗ / ttw-, ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ / ttu-, or ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ / ttiw- to the aorist form of the verb.

The morphemes ᲗᲗᲗ / tty- and ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ / ttw-, which are variants, are generally used with vowel-initial verbs.

ᲑᲗᲗ / agm	“to draw (water)”	→	ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ / ttwagm // ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ / ttyagam // ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ / ttyigim	“to be drawn (water)”
ᲑᲗᲗᲗ / agl	“to hang”	→	ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ / ttwagl // ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ / ttyagal // ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ / ttyigil	“to be hung”
ᲑᲗᲗᲗᲗ / agr	“to steal”	→	ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ / ttwakr // ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ / ttyakar // ᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ / ttyikir	“to be stolen”

ⵏⵙ / amz	“to arrest”	→	ⵜⵓⵏⵙ / ttwamz // ⵜⵙⵏⵙ / ttyamaz // ⵜⵙⵏⵙⵉⵎⵓⵣ / ttyimiz	“to be arrested”
-------------	----------------	---	---	------------------

Conversely, the morphemes ⵜⵓ- / ttu- and ⵜⵙⵓ- / ttiw- are, more often than not, prefixed to consonant-initial verbs.

ⵓⵔⵉ / bdu	“to divide”	→	ⵜⵓⵓⵔⵉ / ttubdu // ⵜⵙⵓⵔⵉ / ttiwbdu	“to be divided”
ⵏⵔⵓ / mgr	“to reap”	→	ⵜⵓⵏⵔⵓ / ttumgr // ⵜⵙⵓⵏⵔⵓⵎⵖⵓⵔ / ttiwmgr	“to be reaped”
ⵔⵓⵎ / krz	“to plow”	→	ⵜⵓⵔⵓⵎ / ttukrz // ⵜⵙⵓⵔⵓⵎⵖⵓⵔ / ttiwkriz	“to be plowed”

ⵜⵓ- / ttw-, which is usually observed with vowel-initial verbs, may also appear with verbs with initial tense consonants.

ⵔⵔⵓ / qqn	“to close”	→	ⵜⵓⵓⵔⵔⵓ / ttwaqqn	“to be closed”
ⵎⵎⵓ / zzu	“to plant”	→	ⵜⵓⵓⵎⵎⵓ / ttwazzu	“to be planted”
ⵏⵏⵙ / ddz	“to grind”	→	ⵜⵓⵓⵏⵏⵙ / ttwaddz	“to be ground”
ⵎⵎⵙ / zzg	“to milk”	→	ⵜⵓⵓⵎⵎⵙ / ttwazzg	“to be milked”

With respect to the derivational morpheme ⵜⵓ- / ttu-, it can appear before a vowel (when this scenario holds, the first vowel of the verb is deleted) or a consonant.

ⵔⵓ / ini	“to tell”	→	ⵜⵓⵓⵔⵓ / ⵔ // ttunna/i	“to be told”
ⵔⵓ / gr	“to throw”	→	ⵜⵓⵓⵔⵓ / ttugr	“to be thrown”

Another form with ⵓ- / nn-, although not frequently used, may also be used to express the passive form.

ⵔⵓⵎ / krf	“to hobble”	→	ⵓⵔⵓⵎ / nnkrf	“to be hobbled, to suffer from rheumatism”
ⵓⵎⵔ / rzm	“to open”	→	ⵓⵓⵎⵔ / nnrzm	“to be loosened”
ⵔⵓⵎ / gzm	“to cut”	→	ⵓⵔⵓⵎ / nngzm	“to be cut”

The Amazigh language recognizes another sort of passive form, termed *primitive* passive. Under this category, the verb appears in an ordinary non-derived form without a direct object. The verbs of this category confer a passive meaning by themselves; they do not necessarily need the common

passive prefixes (ተተ / ttw, ተኘ / tty ...). Examples of such verbs are ቦዐጵ / krz “to plough, to be ploughed”, ርጽዐ / mgr “to saw, to be sawed”, ሂሂ / qqn “to close, to be closed”, ለለጵ / ddz “to grind, to be ground” and ዓጵ / rz “to break, to be broken” which often appear in the passive primitive form.

ጰቦጵ ሰጰጽዐ. / ikrz yigr.	“The field is ploughed.”
ጰርጽዐ ሰጰጽዐ. / imgr yigr.	“The field is reaped.”
ተሂሂ ተኸዐተ. / tqqn tflut.	“The door is closed.”
ጰለለጵ ዐጵዐ.ፍጸ። / iddz uḡar፡f.	“The alum is ground.”
ጰዓጵዐ ዐዋ.፤ጰር. / irṣa uyanim.	“The reed is broken.”

b. Conjugation

The perfective form of passive verbs is always identical to the aorist form of ordinary non-derived verbs.

ዐርጵ / amṣ	“to grab”	→	ተተዐ.ርጵ / ttwamṣ	“to be grabbed”
ዐጽዘ / agl	“to hang”	→	ተተዐ.ጽዘ / ttwagl	“to be hung”

The negative perfective form may well be accompanied by an insertion of the vowel ጰ / i before the final consonant.

Aorist	Gloss	Perfective Pass.	Neg. Perfective Pass.
ፍርተ cmt	“to dupe”	ተተዐ.ፍርተ / ተተ፡ፍርተ ttwacmt / ttucmt	ተተዐ.ፍርጰተ / ተተ፡ፍርጰተ ttwacmit / ttucmit

The imperfective form is generally characterized by the insertion of a vowel before the final consonant of the verb.

Aorist	Gloss	Aorist Pass.	Imperfective Pass.	Gloss
ሂሂ qqn	“to close”	ተተዐ.ሂሂ ttwaqqn	ተተዐ.ሂሂዐ ttwaqqan	“to be closed”
ርዘ ml	“to show”	ተተዐ.ርዘ ttwaml	ተተዐ.ርዐዘ ttwamal	“to be shown”
ዘርላ lmd	“to learn”	ተተዐ.ዘርላ ttwalmd	ተተዐ.ዘርዐላ ttwalmad	“to be learnt”

2.3. The reciprocal form

a. Structure

The reciprocal form is used to express the simultaneity of an action effected or undergone by two or more participants. It is marked by prefixing 𐌌- / m- (or its variants 𐌌𐌌- / mm- and 𐌌𐌶- / my-) to the simple form of the verb.

𐌌𐌌𐌶𐌵𐌳. / mmnyan.	“They quarreled (one with another).”
𐌱𐌴 𐌲𐌌𐌌𐌶𐌵𐌳𐌵𐌳𐌵. / da ttmsqsan.	“They are informing each other.”
𐌌𐌌𐌶𐌵𐌳𐌵 𐌶𐌵𐌵𐌶𐌵. / mmzran g ssuq.	“They saw each other at the market.”

A vowel is usually inserted before or after the final consonant of the reciprocal verb, depending on the category of the verb used.

Aorist	Gloss		Reciprocal Form	Gloss
𐌌𐌵𐌵 / cawr	“to consult”	→	𐌌𐌌𐌵𐌵𐌵 / mcawar	“to consult each other”
𐌌𐌌𐌵𐌶𐌵 / ssafđ	“to send”	→	𐌌𐌌𐌵𐌶𐌵𐌶 / msafađ	“to see off (each other)”
𐌶𐌵 / zr	“to see”	→	𐌌𐌌𐌶𐌵𐌵 / mmzra	“to see each other”
𐌶𐌵 / yr	“to call”	→	𐌌𐌌𐌶𐌵𐌵𐌵 / mmyra	“to call each other”

Let it be noted that the variant 𐌌𐌶- / my- is used with vowel-initial verbs or with verbs that contain a geminate consonant.

𐌵𐌶𐌵 / awđ	“to arrive”	→	𐌌𐌶𐌵𐌶𐌵 / myawađ	“to join each other”
𐌶𐌶𐌵 / kks	“to remove”	→	𐌌𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌵𐌵𐌵 / myukkas	“to remove mutually”
𐌶𐌶 / af	“to find”	→	𐌌𐌶𐌶𐌶𐌵 / myafa	“to find each other”

b. Conjugation

- The perfective form

The perfective form of a broad range of reciprocal verbs exhibits a vowel insertion before the final consonant:

ᄒᄒᄒ / cawɾ	“to consult”	→	ᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒ / mcawɾ	“to consult each other”
ᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒ / ssafɖ	“to send”	→	ᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒ / msafɖ	“to see off (one another)”
ᄒᄒᄒ / aws	“to help”	→	ᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒ / myawas	“to help each other”

The perfective form of verbs like ᄒᄒᄒ / ɣr “to call” and ᄒᄒᄒ / ɣr “to see, to watch” is identical to the simple form.

ᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒ / ɣra	“to have seen”	→	ᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒ / mmɣra	“to have seen each other”
ᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒ / nya	“to have killed”	→	ᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒ / mmnya	“to have quarreled with each other”
ᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒ / yra	“to have called”	→	ᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒ / mmyra	“to have called each other”

- The imperfective form

The reciprocal form is generally characterized by the prefixation of ᄒᄒ / tt-:

ᄒᄒᄒ / ɣr	“to see”	→	ᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒ / ttmmɣra	“to see each other frequently”
ᄒᄒᄒ / ny	“to kill”	→	ᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒ / ttmmnya	“to quarrel with each other”
ᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒ / ᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒ //	“to talk”	→	ᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒᄒ / ttmsawal	“to talk to each other frequently”

2.4. Overderived forms

An overderived form is a form that combines two derivational prefixes with different values:

	Gloss	Derivation	Overderivation	
		<i>Causative Form</i>	<i>Passive + Causative</i>	<i>Reciprocal + Causative</i>
ዘዘሃ / ffy	“to go out”	ፀፀዘሃ / ssufy	ተፀፀዘሃ / ttusufy	ፈፀዘሃ / msufay
ጸጸግግ / ggall	“to swear”	ፀጸግግ / sgall		ፈጸግግ / msgall
ነሃ / ny	“to kill”			ፈፀነሃ / msny

The forms ፈፀዘሃ / msufay, ተፀፀዘሃ / ttusufy, ፈፀነሃ / msny and ፈጸግግ / msgall are overderived verbs. These forms show that the causative affix ፀ- / s- can be conjoined with the reciprocal morpheme ፈ / m or with the passive morpheme ተፀ- / ttu- (bringing about complex affixes such as ፈፀ- / ms- and ተፀፀ- / ttus-). The complex affix ፀፈ- / sm- is also used as in: ፀፈጸጸጸፀ / smiggir “to get two people to meet”, ፀፈሃ / smay and ፀፈነሃ / smnya “to cause a quarrel”.

3. Aspectual particles

Very few contexts are observed where the aorist and perfective verbs stand alone. They are, frequently, preceded by particles, dubbed aspectual particles. These aspectual particles are set out below:

• **ዕ** / **ar**, **ሎ** / **la**, **ል** / **da** and **ዕፈ** / **aqqa**: They are used, in a mutually exclusive fashion, before verbs which are conjugated in the imperfective theme.

ዕ ጸተለለ። / ar itddu.	“He always leaves.”
ዕፈ ጸጸጸ። / aqqa iggur.	“He is walking.”
ል ተፀፀፀፀል ተፀፀ። / da tssirid taḍut.	“She is washing the wool.”
ሎ ተተፀፀፀፀ። / la nttinziz.	“We are singing.”

• **ለ** / **ad** and **ዐለ** / **rad** (or **ዐ** / **ra**): These particles precede verbs in the aorist form. **ለ** / **ad** expresses the future and a number of other modal values such as wishing, fear, etc. **ዐለ** / **rad**, conversely, expresses the future only.

ለ ፀሃ። ለእፀ። / ad syn adlis.	“They will buy the book.”
ዐፀሃ ለ ጸለለ። / riḃ ad iddu.	“I want him to go.”
ዐለ ጸፂ። ለእፀ። / rad idṛ udf.	“The snow will fall.”

• **○●Λ / rad** (○● / **ra** is the abbreviated form) has another variant **⊙●Λ / sad** that expresses certainty in the future:

⊙●Λ ḫ○●Λ. / sad irah. “He will surely go.”

• The particle **●Λ / ad** has two variants, **𐤃● / ya** and **○● / ra**, which are used in environments where **●Λ / ad** is excluded. **○● / ra** is used with the aorist or the imperfective; **𐤃● / ya** is used with the participial form after **●ṣ / ay** and **●Λ / ad**:

(Λ) 𐤀𐤌𐤌𐤌𐤓𐤕 𐤔 𐤃● ḫ○●Λ. / (d) memmis ay ya irahn.	“It is his brother who will go.”
𐤌𐤌𐤌 𐤔 𐤃● 𐤕𐤌𐤕 ? / chal ay ya tucd ?	“How many / much will you give?”

The topicalizers **●Λ / ad** and **●ṣ / ay** are realised as **● / a**.

4. Verb phrase

A verb phrase is made up of a verb and its complement(s). It may, nonetheless, take the form of a single verb without complements.

○𐤒𐤍. / rwn. “They fled.”

The verb phrase in the afore-mentioned example consists of a verbal stem **○𐤒𐤍 / rwn** along with its person, gender and number marker **l / n** (*cf.* 5.1.2.a).

The verb along with its inflectional markers are inseparable; the second singular person of the imperative is, nonetheless, an exception because it lacks any overt inflectional person markers: **𐤕𐤌𐤕 / kcm** “get in”, **𐤒𐤕𐤕𐤕 / qqim** “sit down”.

The minimal structure of the verb phrase may, therefore, be formulated in the following fashion:

(affix) + verb stem + (affix)

The form in the example above may well be extended by adding a postposed noun phrase that has the function of a lexical subject (usually optional).

ḫ𐤕𐤕𐤕 (𐤔○𐤕●). / iffṣ (urba). “He got out, (the boy).”

Other than the lexical subject, the verb phrase may include a complement or a bunch of complements depending on the nature of the verb.

(affix) + verb stem + (affix) + (lexical subject) + complement

4.1. Intransitive verbs

Put more broadly, this sort of verbs do not have direct or indirect objects, as is the case for the following verbs: $\mathbb{H}\mathbb{H}\mathbb{Y}$ / ffy, $\mathbb{Q}\circ\mathbb{X}$ / ɾaḥ and $\mathbb{C}\mathbb{C}\mathbb{+}$ / mmt.

$\mathbb{X}\mathbb{K}\mathbb{C}\mathbb{C}\mathbb{ }\mathbb{!}\mathbb{O}\mathbb{A}\mathbb{.}$ / ikcm unbdu.	“Summer is here.”
$\mathbb{X}\mathbb{Q}\circ\mathbb{X}\mathbb{ }\mathbb{X}\mathbb{E}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{.E.}$ / iɾaḥ iɾnnaṭ.	“He went yesterday.”
$\mathbb{X}\mathbb{C}\mathbb{C}\mathbb{:}\mathbb{+}$ / immut.	“He is dead.”

4.2. Direct transitive verbs

Direct transitive verbs have direct object complements. The following elements can serve as direct objects of transitive verbs:

- **An ordinary noun:**

$\mathbb{X}\mathbb{H}\mathbb{O}\mathbb{O}\mathbb{ }\mathbb{X}\mathbb{O}\mathbb{A}\mathbb{:}\mathbb{C}\mathbb{I.}$ / “He put the clothes out to dry.”
ifsr ihdumn.

- **A proper noun:**

$\mathbb{X}\mathbb{M}\mathbb{Q}\circ\mathbb{ }\mathbb{C}\circ\mathbb{C}\circ\mathbb{.}$ / “He saw Mama.”
izɾa Mama.

- **A noun phrase:**

$\mathbb{X}\mathbb{M}\mathbb{Q}\circ\mathbb{ }\mathbb{C}\mathbb{:}\mathbb{C}\mathbb{C}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{O}\mathbb{ }\mathbb{I}\mathbb{ }\mathbb{:}\mathbb{C}\circ\mathbb{O}\mathbb{.}$ / “He saw his nephew.”
izɾa memmis n umas.

- **A numeral noun phrase:**

$\mathbb{X}\mathbb{M}\mathbb{Q}\circ\mathbb{ }\mathbb{O}\mathbb{I}\circ\mathbb{+}\mathbb{ }\mathbb{(I)}\mathbb{ }\mathbb{+}\mathbb{O}\mathbb{O}\circ\mathbb{+}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I.}$ / “He saw two girls.”
izɾa snat (n) trbatin.

- **An indefinite pronoun:**

$\mathbb{X}\mathbb{M}\mathbb{Q}\circ\mathbb{ }\mathbb{K}\mathbb{O}\circ\mathbb{.}$ / “He saw something.”
izɾa kra.

- **A demonstrative pronoun:**

$\mathbb{X}\mathbb{M}\mathbb{Q}\circ\mathbb{ }\mathbb{U}\circ\mathbb{.}$ / “He saw this (one).”
izɾa wa.

- **A possessive noun:**

$\mathbb{X}\mathbb{M}\mathbb{Q}\circ\mathbb{ }\mathbb{K}\mathbb{O}\circ\mathbb{.}$ / “He saw something.”
izɾa kra.

“He saw mine.”

An indirect transitive verb is a verb whose complement is introduced by a preposition:

[illegible]

These verbs keep the same form irrespective of the nature of voice, active or passive.

1.a. $\xi Q \text{ ㄹ } \odot \text{ ㅁ } \text{ ㄹ } / \text{ir}\ddot{z}m \text{ as}$ axam.	“He opened the (door of the) house for her.”
1.b. $\xi Q \text{ ㄹ } \text{ ㅁ } \text{ ㄹ } / \text{ir}\ddot{z}m \text{ uxam.}$	“The (door of the) house is open.”

2.a. ʈʌʌʂ ʊʂ. Qɛɬ. / tddz azarɪf.	“She ground alum.”
2.b. ɛʌʌʂ ʊʂ. Qɛɬ. / iddz uzarɪf.	“Alum is ground.”

3.a. ʕʕʕʕ ʔʕʕʕʕʔ. / iqqn tawwurt.	“He closed the door.”
3.4. ʔʕʕʕ ʔʕʕʕʕʔ. / tqqn tawwurt.	“The door is closed.”

In the sentences (1a), (2a) and (3a), all the verbs are transitive and have a direct object. Conversely, the sentences (1b), (2b) and (3b) are passive structures even if the verbs do not have morphological passive markers (*cf.* 5.2.2). Importantly, the direct object of their active equivalents becomes a lexical subject with the role of a patient and takes the construct state inflectional morphology (⚡⚡⚡ / uxam, ⚡⚡⚡⚡⚡⚡ / uẓarīf, ⚡⚡⚡⚡⚡⚡ / twwurt). As regards the verbs, no mismatch is observed between their active and passive voice forms. And the only observed change is the agreement that holds between the verb and the new subject.

Let it also be noted that a number of verbs admit the two passive forms, as the verb $\Lambda\Lambda\text{Ж}$ / ddz “to grind” shows below:

ႤႬႬႬ ႁႬႬ.ႁႬႬ. / iddz uẏaríf.	“Alum is ground.”
ႤႬႬႬ.ႬႬႬ ႁႬႬ.ႁႬႬ. / ittwaddz uẏaríf	“Alum was ground.”

4.5. Link verbs

In general terms, a link verb introduces a quality noun and links the subject to the nominal predicate. The sentence with a link verb is characterized by the presence of the verb X / g which has the meaning of “to be, to do”. In the remainder of this section, only the first meaning will be addressed. In the examples set out below, it is the nouns $\text{u}ccn$, $\text{a}fla\text{h}$ and azgg^way that function as the nominal predicates of the sentences, given their essential semantic contribution to the meaning of the sentences.

᠘ᠤᠨᠢᠭᠠᠨ ᠤᠯᠤᠰ. / masin iga uccn.	“Massine is a wolf.”
ᠪᠠᠪᠠᠳ ᠤ᠋ᠠᠯᠠᠭ. / babas iga aflaḡ.	“His father is a farmer.”
ᠠᠵᠭᠠᠷ. / iga azgg ^{way} .	“It is red.”

At the syntactic level, the copula $\overline{\text{X}}$ / g is a full-fledged verb. It does not only behave like an ordinary verb in the sentence but it is also conjugated in the various verbal themes and receives the same verbal morphological markers.

X / XX // g / gg + NP:

ᄋᄃᄃ. ᄋᄃᄃᄃ. / iga awray.	“It is yellow.”
ᄋᄃᄃ. ᄋᄃᄃᄃᄃ. / iga anymas.	“He is a journalist.”
ᄃᄃᄃ. ᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ. / tga tanymast.	“She is a journalist.”

4.6. Particles of orientation Λ / d and l / n

Λ ($\xi\Lambda$) / d (id) and ll (ξll) / nn (inn) are two particles that are used to indicate the orientation of an action. Λ / d orients the action towards the speaker, while ll / nn orients it towards the interlocutor. These two directional particles can be combined with dynamic verbs as well as with verbs that presuppose movement.

- *With dynamic verbs*

Ŷ°ĊĤ. Λ. / yucka d.	“He came here.”
Ŷ°ĊĤ. ll. / yucka nn.	“He came (over there).”
ΞĤĤŶ Λ. / iffŷ d.	“He went out (from here).”

- *With ordinary verbs*

Ŷ°Ĥ. Λ. / yufa d.	“He found (over here).”
Ŷ°Ĥ. ll. / yufa nn.	“He found (over there).”
ΞΘΘΞllΛ. / issiwl d.	“He talked (here).”

The two particles can express a temporal value (ΞĤĤ. ++ Ξll / ikka tt inn “once upon a time”):

Ξλλ. Λ. !ΘΛ°. / idda d unbdu.	“Summer is drawing near.”
ΞĊŶŶ°Θ Λ. / imqqur d.	“He has become old.”

More often than not, the particles Λ / d and l / ll-n / nn obtain after the verb. However, in some specific contexts and with a particular range of morphemes, the particles hold in a preverbal position.

- *The aspectual morphemes °Λ / ad, O°Λ / rad, ll° / la and Λ° / da:*

°Λ Λ Ŷ°Θ. / ad d yas.	“He will come (over here).”
O°Λ °ll ll °llŶŶ °Ċ. l. / rad awn nn awiŷ aman.	“I will bring you water (from there).”
Λ° Λ ++λλ! Ŷ°ΘlŶ. / da d ttddun ŷurnŷ.	“They will visit us.”

- *The negative morpheme °Θ / ur:*

°Θ Λ Ŷ°ΘΞ. / ur d yusi.	“He did not come here.”
°Θ ll ΞλλΞ. / ur nn iddi.	“He did not go (there).”

- *Interrogative pronouns:*

llΞ Λ ΞĤĤŶl ? / wi d iffŷn ?	“Who got out (from here)?”
Ċ. °Λ Λ Ŷ°ĊĤ. l ? / ma ad d yuckan ?	“Who arrived (here)?”
Ċ. ll Ŷ°ĊĤ. l ? / ma nn yuckan ?	“Who came (over there)?”
ΞΘ Λ ΞΘll ? / is d irwl ?	“Did he flee (from here)?”
ΞΘ ll ΞΘll ? / is nn irwl ?	“Did he flee (from there)?”

• *Subordinators:*

ᲘᲚᲗ Ვ ᲑᲚᲚᲚ ᲑᲚᲗ ᲕᲗᲑ ᲕᲗ Თ. / mri d yusa iri nniy ak t.	“If he had come (over here), I would have told it to you.”
ᲘᲚᲗ Ვ ᲑᲚᲚᲚ ᲑᲚᲗ ᲕᲗᲑ ᲕᲗ Თ. / mri nn yusa iri nniy ak t.	“If he had come (over there), I would have told it to you.”
ᲘᲗᲗᲚᲚᲚ Ვ ᲑᲗᲗᲚᲚ ᲑᲚᲚᲚ ᲕᲗᲑ ᲕᲗᲑᲗᲗᲑ. / mqqar d idda ur as samhy.	“Even if he comes (over here), I will not excuse him.”
ᲕᲕᲗᲑ ᲕᲚᲚᲚ ᲕᲗᲗ Ვ ᲑᲚᲚᲚᲚ. / ssny arba lli d yusan.	“I know the boy who came (over here).”
ᲕᲕᲗᲑ ᲕᲚᲚᲚ ᲑᲗᲚ Ვ ᲑᲚᲚᲚᲚ. / ssny arba i ya nn yasn.	“I know the boy who will come (over there).”

The particles Ვ / d and ᲕᲗ / nn always obtain after the direct object pronouns, and are realized respectively as ᲑᲗ / id and ᲑᲕ / in if they follow an obstruent dental stop.

ᲕᲗᲗ Თ ᲑᲗ ! / awi t id !	“Take it!”
ᲕᲗᲗ Თ ᲑᲕ ! / awi t in !	“Take it!”
ᲕᲗᲗᲗ ᲗᲗ ᲑᲗ. / syin tt id.	“They bought it.”

CHAPTER 6

The preposition

The preposition is a part of speech that belongs to the category of link words. The central function of a preposition is to link up words and combine them in larger constructions. The preposition never appears without an object; the latter may take the form of a noun, pronoun or another preposition.

There are two sorts of prepositions: simple and complex. They have different semantic values, such as spatio-temporal, instrumental, directional and possessive, among other values.

1. Ordinary prepositions

a. The preposition l / n

Depending on the context where it is used, the preposition l / n “of, to” may have different semantic values, such as possession, belonging, determination and origin (source).

- Possession

◦┐◦◦ ◦┐◦ / amur n uma	“my brother’s share”
◦◦┐◦ ┐◦┐┐┐◦ / urtu n wultma	“my sister’s orchard”

- Belonging

※※┐┐┐◦ ┐◦┐┐┐┐ zẓẓẓẓ n taliwin	“saffron of Taliwin”
┐┐┐┐◦.※ ◦◦◦┐┐ / imdyazn n arrif	“the singers of Rif”

- Determination

◦┐◦◦ ◦┐◦◦◦ / ayyur n kṭubṛ	“the month of October”
┐┐┐ ┐┐┐◦◦ / ict n tmyart	“a woman”

- *Origin and provenance*

◦Ḷ◦ †◦Ṳ◦ / aman n trg ^w a	“the channel water”
Ṳ◦ṲḶ◦ Ḷ◦ṲḶ / islman n wasif	“the fish of the river”

- *Matter, nature and qualification*

†◦ḶḶ ṲṲṲḶḶ / tammnt n uzuknni	“the honey of thyme”
†ṲṲḶḶ ṲṲṲḶḶ / tisynst n uzṛf	“silver fibula”

b. The preposition Ṳ / i “to, for”

The preposition Ṳ / i “to, for” expresses attribution or destination and usually precedes the indirect object of a transitive verb.

ḶḶṲṲ †◦Ṳ◦ṲṲ Ṳ ḶṲḶḶḶ. / fkiy tasarut i wumak.	“I have given the key to your brother”
ṲṲḶḶ Ṳ ḶḶḶḶḶḶḶḶḶḶḶḶḶ. / isawl i udḡgal nns.	“He talked to his son-in-law”

c. The preposition Ṳ / s

The preposition Ṳ / s “to, towards, with, by means of” has directional (towards, to), instrumental (with, by means of) or causal values.

• *Direction*

ḶḶḶḶ Ṳ †ḶḶḶḶḶḶḶ. / ddan s tmazirt.	“They went to their homeland.”
◦Ḷ ḶḶḶḶ Ṳ ḶḶḶḶḶḶ. / ad nddu s mrirt.	“We shall go to Mrirt.”
†ḶḶḶ Ṳ ḶḶḶḶḶḶ. / tdda s midlt.	“She went to Midlt.”

When the preposition Ṳ / s expresses a directional value, it can conjoin with the prepositions ḶḶ / yr or ḶḶḶ / dar “at, towards” along different orders.

- ḶḶ + Ṳ / yr + s expresses direction and does not exercise any effect on the case of the noun that follows, i.e. the noun does not take the construct state:

ḶḶḶḶ ḶḶ Ṳ ◦ḶḶḶḶḶ. / ddan yr s aḡfir.	“They went to Ahfir.”
--------------------------------------	-----------------------

- $\odot + \Lambda\circ$ / s + **dar** expresses the notion of “being at someone’s house”:

$\Lambda\Lambda\xi\psi \odot \Lambda\circ \overline{\chi}\text{C}\circ$ / ddiḡ s dar g ^w ma.	“I went to my brother’s home.”
--	--------------------------------

- *Means*

$\xi\mathfrak{M}\mathbb{Q}\circ + \odot + \xi\mathbb{E}\mathbb{E}\circ\mathbb{I}\xi\mathbb{I} \parallel \odot$ / izṛa t s tiṭṭawin nns.	“He saw him with his own eyes.”
$\Lambda\Lambda\circ\mathbb{I} \odot \mathbb{E}\circ\mathbb{Q}$ / ddan s uḡar.	“They went on foot”

- *Cause*

$\mathbb{C}\mathbb{C}:\mathfrak{I}\psi \odot \mathbb{H}\circ\Lambda$ / mmuty s fad.	“I am extremely thirsty.”
$\xi\mathbb{I}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{H} \odot + \mathbb{I}:\mathbb{O}\xi$ / iwḥl s twuri.	“He is tired because of work.”

d. The preposition $\overline{\chi}$ / g

The preposition $\overline{\chi}$ / g “in, at”, which may well surface as ψ / ḡ, \mathfrak{X} / x and \mathbb{X} / ḥ, expresses a spatio-temporal value.

• *Spatial localization*

$\mathbb{E}\xi\psi + \overline{\chi} + \circ\Lambda\Lambda\circ\mathbb{O}+$ / ufiḡ t g taddart.	“I found him / it in the house.”
$\xi\mathbb{M}\circ \overline{\chi} \mathfrak{Z}\xi\psi\mathbb{O}\mathbb{C}$ / illa g yiḡrm.	“He is in Ighrm.”

• *Temporal localization*

$\mathbb{O}\circ\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I} \overline{\chi} \mathfrak{Z}\xi\mathbb{E}$ / raḥn g yiḡ.	“They went at night.”
$\Lambda\circ \xi\mathbb{E}\mathbb{E}\circ\mathbb{Q} \mathbb{A}\mathbb{H}\mathbb{M} \overline{\chi} + \mathfrak{X}\mathbb{O}\mathbb{O}+$ / da iṭṭar uḡfl g tgrst.	“Snow falls in winter.”

e. The preposition $\Lambda\xi$ / di

The preposition $\Lambda\xi$ / di “in, at (space)” expresses localization in space. It is realised as $\Lambda\overline{\chi}$ / dg before a vowel-initial noun.

$\Lambda\overline{\chi} \mathbb{I}\circ\mathbb{C}\circ\mathbb{I}$ / dg waman.	“in water”
$\Lambda\xi + \mathbb{C}:\mathbb{O}+ \mathbb{I}\psi$ / di tmurt nny.	“in our country”
$\Lambda\xi + \xi\mathbb{E}\mathbb{E}\circ\mathbb{I}\xi\mathbb{I}$ / di tiṭṭawin	“In Tetouan”

f. The preposition ጸጸ / zg

The preposition ጸጸ / zg “from”, and its variants ጸጸ / sg and ጸጸ / zi, express spatio-temporal origin and provenance.

ዐለ ሰለጐ ጸጸ ሁጐጐጐ. / ad nbda zg wassa.	“We shall start as of today.”
ተጐጐ ለ ጸጸ ፎጐጐ. / tusa d zg Tanja.	“She came from Tangier.”
ጸጸ ዐጸጸጐ / zi rxxu	“From now on”
ጸጸ ጸለጐለ / zg idmad	“just now”

g. The prepositions ኃዐ / yr and ለዐዐ / dar

The prepositions ኃዐ / yr and ለዐዐ / dar “towards, at” express a whole range of semantic values such as direction, time and possession.

• *Direction*

This value is expressed by the preposition ኃዐ / yr that has the same semantic value as ጐ / s, i.e. directional.

ዐሁዐ ኃዐ ለዐ! / awra yr da.	“Come here!”
ለጸጸ ኃዐ ጸጸጐጐጐ. / ddiy yr g ^w lmima.	“I went to Goulmima.”
ተጐጐ ኃዐ ጸጐጐ. / truḥ yr gmas.	“She went to see her brother.”
ጐጐጐጐ ለዐዐ ተጸጐጐ. / nmmzra dar tgmml.	“We have seen each other near the house.”

• *Time*

ኃዐ / yr may also serve the semantic value of time and can be followed by the preposition ጐ / s.

ጐጐጐ ጐጐጐ ኃዐ ጸጐጐጐ. / ncca sksu yr imkli.	“We had couscous at lunch.”
ኃዐ ተጐጐጐ / yr tmddit	“at night, in the afternoon.”
ኃዐ ጐ ጐጐጐ ለ ተጐጐጐ / yr s anqqr n tafukt	“at sunrise”

h. The preposition XH / xf

The preposition XH / xf “on, concerning, for” can appear in an abbreviated form X / x. The preposition takes its full form when it precedes an affixal personal pronoun (XoH / xaf, ԿXH / yif ...). XH / xf denotes the general meaning of “on”, but can also mean the idea of superiority, domination and force.

ԾՕԾ օԸօԼ XH ԺԷԷԹՈ.Ժ ! / srs aman xf tttblat.	“Put the water on the table!”
ԹԷ: XH ԴԳ.Է ! / bdu xf krad !	“Divide into three!”
Ո. չԴԴ.Ժ XH ՃԸ.Ծ. / la ikkat xf gmas.	“He sides with his brother.”
ՃԴԴ. XH ՃԸՃ:ՕԼ. / ikka xf imzurn.	“He passed through Imzouren.”

i. The prepositions օXΛ / agd, Λ / d

The prepositions օXΛ / agd and Λ / d mean “with, in company of”. The first preposition has another variant which is օԴΛ / akd.

ԺԽԽԿ օXΛ ԺԸΛΛ:ԴԴ.Ո ՈԾ. / tffȳ agd tmddukkal nns..	“She went out with her friends.”
ԺՃ:Ս.ԳԺ օXΛ :ԳԸԸ.Լ / tzyart agd urmman	“grapes and pomegranate”
ՃԸ:Լ Λ օԸΛΛ.ԴԴ.Ո ՈԾ. / imun d umddakk ^w l nns.	“He accompanied his friend.”

j. The preposition XO / gr

The preposition XO / gr “between, among” designates distance between two points in space or time. The preposition has a whole range of variants, namely IoO / jar, IXO / ngr and XI XO / ingr.

XO Ս.ՃΛԱՅԺ Λ ՃԼԻԾ / gr wazdwit d imnsi	“between snack time and dinner”
IoO Է.Է. Λ ՃՃԿՕԸ / jar țata d yiȳrm.	“between Tata and Ighrem”
օII օԱ.Ո օ XI XO.ԺԿ ! / ajj awal a ingratȳ !	“keep this conversation between us!”

k. The preposition 𐤀 / 𐤁 - al / ar

The preposition 𐤀 / 𐤁 - al / ar “till, until” designates time and space limits. This preposition exhibits an important peculiarity in the sense that the noun that follows it does not take the construct state marker.

𐤅𐤋𐤁 𐤁 𐤀𐤌𐤌𐤏𐤍. / idda ar amzmiz.	“He went to Amzmiz.”
𐤌𐤕 𐤔𐤕𐤕 𐤀 𐤅𐤁𐤏 / zg yixf al iḏān	“from head to toe”
𐤁 𐤕𐤀𐤋𐤋𐤕𐤕 / ar tamddit	“till the evening”
𐤀 𐤋 / al da	“(till) here”

l. The preposition 𐤁𐤌 / bla

The preposition 𐤁𐤌 / bla “without” denotes absence, lack, exclusion or deprivation. Not unlike 𐤀 / 𐤁 - al / ar, 𐤁𐤌 / bla does not require the noun that comes after it to take the construct state inflectional marker.

𐤋 𐤔𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤁𐤌 𐤀𐤌. / da itḥḥaf bla aman.	“He shaves without using water. (He is clever)”
𐤅𐤋𐤁 𐤋 𐤁𐤌 𐤅𐤏𐤕𐤅𐤌. / idda d bla iḡarīḏn.	“He came with no money on him.”

2. Complex prepositions

This sort of prepositions is made up of two or three conjoined prepositions, one of which has an adverbial function. More often than not, the preposition 𐤌 / n or 𐤅 / i follows the preposition that has an adverbial function. There are, nonetheless, a host of other situations where the adverbial preposition is preceded by other prepositions such as the locative 𐤕 / ḥ // g / ḡ, the directional 𐤏 / s or the spatio-temporal 𐤌𐤕 / zg.

𐤌𐤁𐤕𐤕 / 𐤅 // zdat n / i	“in front of”
𐤀𐤌𐤅𐤌, 𐤕𐤌𐤌 / amnid n, tanila n	“opposite”
𐤌𐤅𐤕𐤌, 𐤀𐤕𐤌𐤌, 𐤅𐤕𐤕𐤅 / nnig n, affla n, iggi n	“on, over, above”
𐤅𐤌𐤁𐤕 / izdar n	“under”
𐤁𐤏𐤏 / bḡra n	“outside”
𐤅𐤏𐤕𐤕 / ḡarat n	“behind”

ᖃ ᐅᐅᐅ ᐱ / g tama n	“near, next to”
ᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᖃ / ᐱ // s wadday i / n	“under”
ᐅ ᐱᐱ ᖃ / s nnj i	“on, over”
ᖃᖃ ᐱᐱᐱᐅᐅ, ᖃᖃ ᐱᐱᐱᖃᐅ // zi dffar, zi dffir	“behind”
ᐅᐅ ᐅ / ᖃr s	“towards”
ᐅ ᐱᐅᐅ / s dar	“at someone’s house”

ᐱᖃᖃᖃ ᐱᐱᐱᖃᐅ ᐱ ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ. / nqqim dffir n tsyart.	“We sat behind the tree.”
ᖃᖃᐅ ᖃᐱᐅ ᐱ ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ. / illa zdat n taddart.	“He is in front of the house.”
ᖃᖃᖃ ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᖃᐱᐅ ᖃ ᐅᖃᖃᖃᐅᐅ. / ggin tawwurt zdat i tgzirt.	“They put the door opposite the island.”
ᖃᖃᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐱ ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ. / illa mnid n uybalu.	“He is in front of the well.”
ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐅ ᐱᐅᐅ ᐱ ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ. / ssrsy t nnag n tnakᖃa.	“I put it on the mat.”

3. The morphology of prepositions

Depending on the context where it appears, a preposition can take a broad range of forms. Of prime importance among the contexts of use of prepositions, we mention the following.

3.1. A preposition followed by a noun or a free pronoun

Before any nominal (noun, free pronoun, demonstrative pronoun, possessive pronoun), the preposition surfaces unscathed. Often, the noun that follows the preposition takes the construct state form (*cf.* 3.1.3.). The only exceptions that hold are the prepositions ᐅᐅ / al “till, until” and ᐅᐅᐅ / bla “without” which are followed by nouns in the free state form.

ᐱᖃ ᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ / di + tamurt	→	ᐱᖃ ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ / di tmurt	“in the country”
ᐅᐅ ᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ / s + afus	→	ᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ / s ufus	“with the hand”
ᐱ ᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ / d + amddakkᖃl	→	ᐱ ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ / d umddakkᖃl	“with the friend”

Table 1: ordinary prepositions and context of use

<i>Context Preposition</i>	<i>Before a noun</i>	<i>Before an affixal pron.¹⁰</i>
l / n	l ʈ.ʈ.ʈ.ʈ / n waman	llʈ / ʂlʈ // nns / ins
ʂ / i	ʂ ʈHʈʈʂ / i tfruxt	ʈʈ / as
ʂ (ʈ) / g (ʈ)	ʂ ʈʈʂʈ / g ubrid	ʂʂʈ / ʈʂʂʈ //
ʈ / s	ʈ ʈʈʈʈ / s ufus	ʈʂʈ, ʈʈʈ // sis, srs
ʂH (ʂ) / xf (x)	ʂH ʂʂʂH / xf yixf	ʂ.ʈʈ / ʈʂʈʈ //
ʈ / f	ʈ ʈʈʈ.ʈ / f uyʈab	ʈʈʈ.ʈ / flʈas
ʈ / d	ʈ ʈʈʈʈʈ / d uslmad	ʈʂʈ / ʈʂʈʈ //
ʈʂ / di	ʈʂ ʂʂʂ.ʈ / dg uxxam	ʈʂʂʈ / ʈ.ʂʈ //
ʂʂ (ʂʂ, ʈʂ) / xg (zi, sg)	ʂʂ ʂʈʈ.ʈ / zg udrar	ʂʂʂʂʈ / ʂʂ.ʂʈ //
ʈʂʈ / ʈʂ //	ʈʂʈ ʈʈʈ.ʈ / agd urba	ʈʂʂʈʈ / ʈʂʂʈʈ //
ʈʈ / ʈʈ	ʈʈ ʂʈʈ.ʈʈ / ʈʈ uzayʈar	ʈ.ʈʈʈ / ʈʈʈʈʈ / ʈʂʈʈʈ //
ʈ.ʈʈ / dar	ʈ.ʈʈ ʂʈʈʈʈ / dar ʈmmu	ʈ.ʈʈʈ / dars
ʂʈ (ʈʂʈ, ʈ.ʈ) / gr (ngr, jar)	ʂʈ ʂʈʈ.ʈʈʈ / gr isaffn	ʂʈ.ʈʈʈ / gratsn
ʈʈ / ʈʈ //	ʈʈ ʈʂʂʂʂʂ / al figig	Never before an affixal pronoun
ʈʈ.ʈ / bla	ʈʈ.ʈ ʈʈʈ.ʈ / bla aqʈrab	Never before an affixal pronoun

4. Prepositions and their semantic values

The semantic value of a preposition ensues, in large measure, from the elements that surround it, i.e. the verb and the object of the preposition. This

10- To make things easy for the reader, the examples are given in the third person singular.

is why some prepositions are polysemic, as is illustrated in the following examples:

ᲙᲗᲗᲐ ᲐᲗᲗ ᲠᲚᲚᲗᲠ. / idda agd tsrwit.	“He went early in the morning.”
ᲙᲗᲗᲐ ᲐᲗᲗ ᲠᲗᲠᲚᲚᲗᲠ. / idda agd ultmas.	“He went with his sister.”

The meaning of some prepositions is, nonetheless, relatively stable and easily identifiable. Of the different semantic values that prepositions have, we may well mention the following:

- Attribution: Კ / i
- Location: Თ / Უ // g / Უ, ᲗᲗ / zg, ᲗᲙ / di, ᲣᲚᲚ / Უr, ᲗᲗᲗ / xf, ᲐᲚᲚ / ar
- Direction: ᲚᲚ / s, ᲣᲚᲚ / Უr, ᲗᲐᲚᲚ / dar
- Time: Თ / Უ // g / Უ, ᲐᲚᲚ / ar, ᲗᲙ / di
- Instrument: ᲚᲚ / s
- Possession and belonging: ᲗᲚᲚ / n
- Accompaniment: ᲗᲚᲚ / d, ᲐᲗᲗ / ᲐᲗᲗ // agd / akd

5. Prepositional phrase

The prepositional phrase is any phrase which consists of a preposition followed by a noun phrase or any equivalent nominal (independent pronouns as well as affixal, demonstrative, indefinite and possessive pronouns).

Prep. + noun	ᲚᲚ ᲠᲗᲗᲚᲚᲚᲚ / s ufus	“with the hand”
Prep. + indep. pron.	ᲚᲚ ᲗᲠᲚᲚᲚᲚ / s ntta	“with / (thanks to) him”
Prep. + affixal pron.	ᲗᲐᲗᲙᲙ / dagi	“in / on me”
Prep. + dem. pron.	ᲐᲚᲚ ᲠᲚᲚᲚᲚᲚᲚ / ar ta	“until (we reach) this one”
Prep. + numeral	ᲚᲚ ᲗᲗᲗᲚᲚᲚᲚ / s kᲗᲗ	“by three”
Prep. + poss. pron.	ᲐᲗᲗ ᲗᲙᲙᲚᲚᲚᲚ / agd winu	“with mine (plr.)”

5.1. The object of a preposition

The object of a preposition can either be a noun or an affixal pronoun (see 6.3.1 and 6.3.2). More often than not, the object of a preposition takes the construct state form; the only exception that stands in fundamental conflict with this rule is the case of the two prepositions օֹ / ar and Թևֹ / bla, which are always followed by a noun in the free state form.

Կֹ օֹՃՃֹ / yr uxxam	“to the house” (CS.)
Թֹ օֹԽֹԹֹ / s ufus	“with the hand” (CS.)
Խֹ օֹԿֹԹֹ / f uyrah	“on the wall” (CS.)
Թևֹ օֹՇֹԹֹ / bla aqrah	“without the bag”
օֹ օֹևֹ / ar anu	“until the well (is reached)”

The preposition along with its object make up the prepositional phrase. Depending on the preposition used, the prepositional phrase may well function as a noun complement, an indirect object complement or an adverbial phrase.

Let it be noted that the role of affixal pronouns is to substitute the nouns or phrases governed by the preposition. To the exception of չֹ / i which blends with indirect object pronouns (*cf.* 4.1.2.b), all the other prepositions are compatible with the putative (preposition + affixal personal pronoun) paradigm addressed in (4.1.2.d).

5.2. The syntactic function of a prepositional phrase

The function of a prepositional phrase depends on the relationship that it has with other constituents of the sentence as well as on the type of preposition used. Among these functions, we may well distinguish between:

- a. Indirect object
- b. Noun complement
- c. Adverb phrase

a. Prepositional phrase as an indirect object

The prepositional phrase assumes the function of an indirect object when it is part of a verbal phrase and it is introduced by the preposition չֹ / i along with its object. The prepositional phrase can be reduced to a linked structure

made up of a preposition and an affixal pronoun; the linked structure has the function of an indirect object of the verb.

<p>ᵐᵒᵒᵒ ᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒ ᵒᵒ ᵒᵒ ᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒ ! / awy tabrat ad i babak!</p>	<p>“Take this letter to your father!”</p>
<p>ᵒᵒᵒ ᵒᵒ ᵒᵒ ! / awy as tt !</p>	<p>“Take it to him!”</p>

Prepositional phrases that function as indirect objects consist of the preposition ξ / i along with:

- a noun:

ᵒᵒ ᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒ ᵒᵒ ᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒ ! / ad isiwl i memmis ! “That he talks to his son!”

- an independent pronoun:

ᵒᵒᵒᵒ ᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒ ᵒᵒ ᵒᵒᵒᵒ ᵒᵒ ᵒᵒ ᵒᵒ ᵒᵒ ᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒ.
iwca iqarīḍn i ntta ur d i kyyi.
“He gave the money to him not to you.”

- an affixal pronoun:

ᵒᵒᵒᵒ ᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒ. / ddiḡ yurs. “I was at his house.”

- a demonstrative pronoun:

ᵒᵒᵒ ᵒᵒ ᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒ ! / ini t i winn ! “Tell it to that one.”

- an indefinite pronoun:

ᵒᵒᵒᵒ ᵒᵒ ᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒ. / tnnam t i kra. “You told it to someone.”

- a possessive pronoun:

ᵒᵒᵒᵒ ᵒᵒ ᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒ. / inna t i winnk. “He told it to yours (to your friends).”

b. Prepositional phrase as a noun complement

The noun complement consists of the genitive preposition l / n followed by one of the following elements:

- a noun:

<p>ᵒᵒᵒ ᵒᵒ ᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒ / imi n taddart</p>	<p>“the door of the house”</p>
<p>ᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒ ᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒ / ᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒᵒ</p>	<p>“a fish tajine”</p>

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 𐤇𐤍𐤁𐤁 𐤍𐤍𐤁 / middn n zik | “our ancestors” |
| 𐤇𐤍𐤁𐤁 𐤍𐤍𐤁 / amuddu n imal | “The trip of next year” |

- | | |
|---|-------------|
| $\textcircled{\text{S}}\textcircled{\text{T}}\textcircled{\text{X}}\textcircled{\text{E}}\textcircled{\text{I}} \parallel \textcircled{\text{O}}$ / ayyis nns | “his horse” |
| $\textcircled{\text{X}}\textcircled{\text{H}} \parallel \textcircled{\text{O}}$ / ixƒ nns | “his head” |

c. Prepositional phrase as an adverb phrase

И. ЭЕ.О :ΛΗИ X +X○○+. / “Snow falls in winter.”
la ittar udfi g tgrst.

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| ᐱᐱᓄ ᓂ ᑭᐱᐳ. /
idda s tinml. | “He went to school.” |
| ᐱ ᐱᓂᐸ ᐱᐱ ᑭᐱᓂᓂ ! /
g aksum xf tmssi ! | “Put the meat on the fire!” |
| ᐱᓂᓂ ᐱ ᐱᓂᓂᓂᓂ. /
yus d zi ssuq ! | “He came back from the souk.” |
| ᐱᐱᓄ ᐱ ᓂᐱ ᐱᐱᐳ. /
idda d sg imnyi. | “He has returned from the fight.” |

- ΣΧΛΛΕ Θ ΗΘ. / ixddm s ufus. “He is working with his own hands.”

- ᐱᑦᓴᐅᔭ ᐃ ᐆᐅᑕᑦᓴᐅ. / immut “She is dying of cold.”
s usmmid.

- manner:

ᲡᲗᲗᲗ Თ Ლ ᲛᲗᲗᲗ. / idda d s trwla.	“He came running.”
ᲡᲗᲗᲗ Ლ ᲛᲗᲗᲗ. / iffɣ s tazza.	“He went out running.”

- accompaniment:

ᲡᲗᲗᲗ ᲗᲗ ᲗᲗ. / imun ag wa.	“He came with this one.”
ᲡᲗᲗᲗ ᲗᲗ ᲗᲗᲗᲗ. / icca ag umas.	“He ate with his brother.”

CHAPTER 7

The adverb

An adverb is a grammatical category that modifies the meaning of a verb. Put more precisely, an adverb modifies the process and state expressed by the verb:

ጸጸገ ጽጸጸ. / ign zikk.	“He slept early.”
ዐዐ ተዐዐጋጠጥ ዐፎፎዐ. / ar tsawalm aṭṭaṣ.	“You speak a lot.”

The class of adverbs is heterogenous. A broad range of adverbs have a nominal origin (ዐፎፎፎ / aflla “over, upstairs”, ዐፎፎፎ / ammas “centre”, ተዐፎፎ / tasga “side”, ጸጸጸ / idis “side”); others result from the combination of nouns or adverbs with prepositions (ዐ ሁለሉ / s wadday “down, downstairs”, ሃዐ ጸሎተ / yr zdat “to the front, in the future”).

Adverbs serve a variety of symantic values such as place, time, quality and manner.

1. Adverbs of place

The paradigm of adverbs of place is set out as follows:

- ለዐ, ለዐዐ, ሃጸ / da, daha, yi “here”

ዐሀዐተ ለዐ / ለዐዐ ! // awrat da / daha !	“Come here!”
ፂፂፂፂ ለጸዐፂፂ ! / qqim dihin !	“Stay there!”
ሁጸ ለጸፂፂ ? / wi dinn ?	“Who is there?”
ሁጸ ለጸፂፂ ? / wi dinni ?	“Who is there (the place in question)?”
ለጸፂፂ ሃዐዐዐ / dinn yars	“There, at his house”
ለጸፂፂ ዐ ሃጸፂፂ. / ddu s yinn.	“Go there!”

The adverb ለዐ / ለዐዐ // da / daha can be followed by the remoteness particle ለ / nn, bringing about the forms ለጸፂፂ / ለጸዐፂፂ // dinn / dihin “there”, or by the absence particle ለፂፂፂ / nni (ለጸፂፂ / dinni “there (the place in question)”).

Conversely, the adverb **ሃኗ** / *yi* may be followed by all orientation particles. It can be followed by the proximity particle **ለ** / *d* (**ሃኗለ** / *yid* “by here”), the remoteness particle **በ** / *nn* (**ሃኗበ** / *yinn* “there”) as well as by the absence particle **በዘኗ** / *lli* (**ሃኗበዘኗ** / *yilli* “the place in question”).

- **ለዘዘኗዐ** / *dffir*, **ደዐዐደ** / *ፋጥፋጥ*, **ተኗዐዐደ** / *tikrmin* “behind”

ሂሂኗዐ ሃዐ ለዘዘኗዐ ! / <i>qqim yr dffir !</i>	“Stay behind.”
ዐዐ ኗዘዘኗዘኗዘኗ ደዐዐተ. / <i>ar izzigiz ፋጥፋጥ.</i>	“He walks backwards.”

- **ኗበዐ** / *iwra* “here”

ዐበዐ ዐበዐ ! / *awra awra* “Come here!”

- **ዘለተ** / *zdat* “in front of”

ዐጽዐተ ሃዐ ዘለተ. / *ugurt yar zdat.* “Go ahead.”

- **ዐዐዐ** / *ssa*, **ዐዐኗ** / *ssya*, **ዐ ሃኗ** / *s yi*, **ዐዐ.ፈተ** / *ssanita* “by here, from here”

ዘኗ ዐዐዐ ሃዐ ተዐረር ... / <i>xmi ssa ya trahm ...</i>	“when you depart from here”
ዘዐደ ዐ ሃኗ. / <i>zrin s yi.</i>	“They passed by here.”
ዘዐ.ፈ ዐዐኗ. / <i>kkan ssya.</i>	“They passed by here.”

The adverb **ዐዐኗ** / *ssya* can be followed by the remoteness particle **በ** / *nn*, bringing about the forms **ዐዐኗበ** / **ዐዐኗበ** - *ssyn* / *ssin* “by there”.

ኗዐዐዐ. ኗኗኗ ለ ተዐዐተ ዐዐኗበ. / <i>iskka iyi d tabrat ssin.</i>	“He sent me a letter (from there)”
ኗዐዐዐ. ዐዐኗበ. / <i>ikka ssin.</i>	“He passed by there.”

- **ለለዐ** / *ddaw*, **ዐ ቢለለኗ** / *s wadday*, **ኗዘለለዐ** / *izddar* “down, below”

ሃዐ ለለዐ / <i>yr ddaw</i>	“downwards”
ዐቢ. ዐ ቢለለኗ ! / <i>hwa s wadday !</i>	“Go downwards!”
ዘዐ ኗዘለለዐ ! / <i>zr izddar !</i>	“Look downwards!”

- **ዐዐዐዐ** / *brra* “outside”

ዘዘሃ ዐዐዐዐ ! / *ffy brra !* “Go out!”

- 𐌰𐌶𐌳𐌰 / agʷns, 𐌱𐌰 / jaj, 𐌰𐌳𐌳𐌰𐌳𐌰 / ammas “inside”

𐌳𐌳𐌰𐌳𐌰, 𐌰𐌳𐌰 𐌰𐌰 𐌰𐌳𐌰𐌶𐌰 𐌱𐌰 𐌱𐌰𐌰 𐌱𐌰. 𐌰𐌳𐌳𐌰. / r̥raht, ur ttufiy la jaj la b̥ra.	“I can’t find tranquility neither at home nor outside.”
𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌳𐌰 𐌶𐌰 𐌱𐌰𐌳𐌰𐌳𐌰 ! / izir̥ g wammas !	“Search inside!”

- 𐌰𐌳𐌳𐌰 / nican “straightforward, straight ahead, right”

𐌰𐌰𐌰 𐌰𐌳𐌳𐌰. / ddu nican.	“Go straight ahead.”
𐌶𐌰𐌳𐌰 𐌱𐌰𐌳𐌰 𐌰𐌳𐌳𐌰. / ɣark lhq nican.	“You are right.”

When the question has to do with place or location, we use the interrogative adverb 𐌳𐌰𐌰 / mani “where”.

𐌳𐌰𐌰 𐌰𐌳𐌳𐌰𐌳𐌰 ? / mani iqqim ?	“Where is he sitting?”
𐌳𐌰𐌰 𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰 ? / mani tlid ?	“Where are you?”
𐌳𐌰𐌰 𐌱𐌰𐌰𐌰 𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰 ? / mani llant th̥njirin ?	“Where are the girls?”

When the question bears on a prepositional phrase that has the function of an adverb of time, the interrogative 𐌳𐌰𐌰 / mani can be followed by a preposition (𐌶𐌳𐌰 / ɣr, 𐌰𐌰 / zi, 𐌳𐌰 / s, 𐌶𐌰 (𐌶) / g (ɣ)),.

𐌳𐌰𐌰 𐌶𐌳𐌰 𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰 ? / mani ɣr idda ?	“Where did he go?”
𐌳𐌰𐌰 𐌳𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰 ? / mani s idda ?	“Where did he go?”
𐌳𐌰𐌰 𐌶𐌰𐌰𐌰 𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰 ? / mani g illa ubrid ?	“Where is the way?”
𐌳𐌰𐌰 𐌰𐌰𐌰 𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰 ? / mani zg d yusa?	“Where did he come from?”

2. Time adverbs

Time adverbs are, in the most majority, of nominal origin.

- 𐌰𐌳𐌳𐌰 (𐌶𐌰 𐌰𐌳𐌳𐌰) / ass a (ɣ ass a) “today”

𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰 𐌰𐌳𐌳𐌰. / yiwɔ ass a.	“He has arrived today.”
𐌰𐌳𐌰𐌶𐌰 𐌰𐌰𐌳𐌰. / ɣriɣ t ass a.	“I have seen him today.”

The adverb 𐤀𐤕𐤕 𐤀 / ass a may well be combined with the deictics of proximity (𐤀 / d), remoteness (𐤈 / nn) or reference (𐤈𐤍𐤍 / lli), bringing about the following forms: 𐤀𐤕𐤕 𐤀𐤈 / ass ad “today”, 𐤀𐤕𐤕 𐤈 / ass nn “that day”, 𐤀𐤕𐤕 𐤈𐤍𐤍 (𐤕𐤀𐤕𐤕 𐤈𐤍𐤍) / ass lli (𐤕𐤀𐤍𐤍 lli) “the day in question”.

- 𐤀𐤕𐤕𐤕 (𐤀𐤕𐤕𐤕) / azkka (askka), 𐤕𐤍𐤕𐤕𐤕 / tiwcca “tomorrow”

𐤀𐤈 𐤀𐤈 𐤀𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤍𐤕𐤕𐤕. / ad d nas tiwcca.	“We shall come tomorrow.”
𐤀𐤈 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤀𐤕𐤕𐤕 ! / ad ur tmmuddum askka !	“Do not travel tomorrow.”

- 𐤍𐤈𐤈𐤕𐤕 / idnnaṭ, 𐤍𐤈𐤕𐤕 / idgam “yesterday”, 𐤍𐤈𐤍𐤍𐤕 / idlli “yesterday night”, 𐤀𐤕𐤈𐤈𐤕𐤕 / assnnaṭ “yesterday during the day”

𐤍𐤈𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤍𐤈𐤈𐤕𐤕. / igga urar idnnaṭ.	“He celebrated his marriage yesterday.”
𐤈𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤀𐤕𐤈𐤈𐤕𐤕. / nṣṣa gmaṣ assnnaṭ.	“We saw your brother yesterday.”

- 𐤀𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / assfann, 𐤈𐤕𐤍𐤕𐤕𐤕 / nafidgam, 𐤀𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / asslid, 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / friḏnnaṭ, 𐤀𐤕𐤍𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / asnig n wassnnaṭ “the day before yesterday”

𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕 𐤀𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕. / syiṣ tn assfann. “I bought them the day before yesterday.”

- 𐤈𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / nafuzkka, 𐤈𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / nafazn, 𐤈𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / dfr tiwcca, 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / farwicca, 𐤀𐤕𐤍𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / asnig n wazkka “after tomorrow”

𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕 𐤈𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕. / qqlat ar nafuzkka.	“Wait till the day after tomorrow.”
𐤀𐤈 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / ad raḥn farwicca.	“They will leave the day after tomorrow.”

- 𐤈𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / nḏaḏana, 𐤈𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / nnaḏant, 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / azzyat, 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / asgg^wasnnaṭ “last year”

𐤈𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕, 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / nḏaḏana, ur mmuddiy.	“I did not travel last year.”
𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕. / yiwl azzyat.	“He got married last year.”

- **ዕደገገ / ḁḁininn, ዘዕቢጵሂት / farwazyat** “two years ago”

ዕደገገ, ዕዕ ጸቢጸት ዕጵዕ. / “It has not rained for the
ḁḁininn, ur iwit unṣar. last two years.”

- **ጸርዕ / imal, ርኩር / mneac** “next year”

ዕ ጵባ ዕዕቢ ዘፀገ ጸርዕ. / ad ṣṛn arawn nnsn imal.	“They will see their children next year.”
፪፪ዝ ተሂዕዕ ጵ ርኩር! / ṭṭf t ṣark al mneac!	“Keep it till next year.”

- **ተጸጸዕ / ተጸጸዕ - tigira / tingira** “after”

ዕ ተጸጸዕ ተለጸር. / ar tigira “You will go after.”
tdum.

- **ጵጸ / zik, ቢፀቢ / wahwa** “early, formerly, long ago”

ዘዘሂ ጵጸ. / ffyn zik.	“They left early.”
---------------------	--------------------

- **ጸ ሳይ / g yiḁ, ሂዕ ተርለጸት / ሃጝ ሰጠደት** “at night”

ለለገ ጸፀጸጸጸ ሂዕ ተርለጸት. / ddan inbgiwn ሃጝ ሰጠደት.	“The guests went at night.”
ጸቢታ ዕጵዕ ጸ ሳይ. / iwwt unṣar g yiḁ.	“It rained at night.”

- **ፀለፀ / bdda** “always, all the time”

ዘ ፀለፀ ጸ፪፪. / la bdda iḁṣṣa. “He always smiles.”

- **ሂጸለ / ṣilad, ለሂጸ / dyi, ቢዕ / wasa, ለሂጸጸ / dyikk, ለጸ፡ / lxtu, ፀ፡ጸ / ruxa, ጸ፡፡፡ / ilqqu** “now”

ዕጸ ዕ ለ ጸርጸጸ ሂጸ. / awi ay d imkli ṣil.	“Bring us lunch now.”
ፀር፡ ጸር፡ፀ፡ፀ፡ ለጸ ፀ፡ጸ፡ / smun imassn nnk ruxa.	“Pick up your things, now.”
ለ፡ ቢዕ፡ ! / ddu wasa	“Go right now!”

When the question bears on a temporal prepositional phrase, the interrogative adverbs that are used are set out as follows:

- **ᐱᐱᐱᐱ** / manag^w, **ᐱᐱᐱᐱ** / mlmi, **ᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ** / man tizi “when”

ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ? / manag ^w rad ddunt ?	“When will they go?”
ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ? / mlmi ya d tas ?	“When will she come ?”
ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ? / milmi ay ffyn ?	“When did they go out?”

3. Adverbs of quantity

- **ᐱᐱᐱᐱ** / drus, **ᐱᐱᐱᐱ** / imikk, **ᐱᐱᐱᐱ** / imiqq, **ᐱᐱᐱᐱ** / cwayt, **ᐱᐱᐱᐱ** / cwi “a little”

ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ. / yuzzl drus.	“He did not run much.”
ᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ! / fk iyi yas imiqq.	“Give me just a little!”
ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ. / yiwca as cwayt.	“He gave him / her a little.”

- **ᐱᐱᐱᐱ** / kigan, **ᐱᐱᐱᐱ** / aṭṭaṣ, **ᐱᐱᐱᐱ** / bahra, **ᐱᐱᐱᐱ** / bzzaf “a lot, many”

ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ. / iwt unṣar kigan.	“It rained a lot.”
ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ. / aqqa tssawalm aṭṭaṣ.	“You talk a lot.”
ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ. / icca bahra.	“He ate a lot.”
ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ. / yuzzl bzzaf	“He ran a lot.”

- **ᐱᐱᐱᐱ** / akk^w, **ᐱᐱᐱᐱ (ᐱᐱᐱᐱ)** / qqah (qqae), **ᐱᐱᐱᐱ** / kullu, **ᐱᐱᐱᐱ** / maṛṛa “all, everything”

ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ. / ṣṛiy tn akk ^w .	“I saw all of them.”
ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ. / ibbi qah aynna yufa.	“He tore all what he found.”
ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ, ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ. / maṛṛa ccin, maṛṛa swin.	“They ate and drank everything.”

If used in a negative sentence, **ᐱᐱᐱᐱ** / akk^w means “nothing, not at all, not even” and **ᐱᐱᐱᐱ** / qqah “not ... at all”.

ዕጽጊ፡ ዕ ሄ፡ዕ፻፳ ፻ጽ፱ ዘዕ. / akk ^w ur yusiy ix f nns.	“He does not even provide for his own needs.”
ዕ፡ ዕጽጊ ፻ዕዕ፻ ዓ.፡፡፳፻፶፫. / ur akk ^w issin tamaziyt.	“He does not know Amazigh at all.”
፱፱.፻ ዕ ፻፻፻ዕ፶. / qqah ur ttisḡ.	“I did not sleep at all.”
ዕ ፻፱፱፻፸ ዘ. ለ ፻ተለለ፡ ፱፱.፻. / ur iqqim la d ittddu qqah.	“He no longer comes.”

Asking about quantity is accommodated through the following morphemes:
፸፻፫. / mcta, ፸፻፳ / mnck, ፸፻፻፻ / mçhal.

፸፻፫. ለ ዕ ዘዘ. ? / mcta ad s llan ?	“How many are they?”
፸፻፳ ለ ተ፳፻፳ ? / mnck ad tẓrid ?	“How many did you see?”
፸፻፻፻ ዕ ፻፳፻፻ ጸ ፸፻፻፻ ? / mçhal ay tkkid g midlt ?	“How long did you stay in Midelt?”

4. Adverbs of manner

The adverbs of manner do not have a stable form. In general terms, the idea of *manner* is expressed via a whole range of prepositional phrases (preposition + noun). Most of these prepositional phrases are introduced by the preposition ዕ / s which specifies the meaning of the verb that it modifies. As way of illustration, we set out the following adverbial constructions:

ዕ ተ.፳፳ዘ, ዕ ተዘዕዕ፻ / s tazza, s tfssi	“quickly”
ዕ ተ.፱፻፻ / s ttawil	“slowly”
ዕ ለ፻፻ / s lhil	“smoothly”
ዕ ለ.ዘ፻፻, ዕ ፻፶፻ዕ / s wafud, s uyir	“by force”
ዕ ለዘ, ዕ ለ፻፶፻ / s wul, s nniyt	“sincerely”
ዕ ለ፻ዕዕ // s lhss	“quietly”
ዕ ተ፻፻, ዕ ዕዕ.፻፻ / s tidt, s ṣṣaḥt	“really”
ዕ ለ፻፻፻ / s lxaṭṭ	“willingly”
ዕ ዕ፻፻፻ / s bzzez	“by force”

A category of adverbs of manner is generally made up of invariable words or fixed forms:

CHAPTER 8

Simple sentence

1. Affirmative sentence

The affirmative sentence is the simplest sentence in Amazigh grammar. The other forms, i.e. the negative, interrogative and exclamative sentences, are but modified forms of the simple sentence. Depending on the presence or absence of verbal predicates, a simple sentence is either verbal or non-verbal.

1.1. Verbal sentence

a. Constituents

Besides the main elements that are mandatory for making up a minimal or basic verbal sentence (i.e. the verbal stem and the person markers (*cf.* 5.1)), the basic verbal sentence may well be expanded by adding other constituents that have different syntactic functions. Paramount among these constituents, there are:

- *Lexical subject:*

ⵍⵓⵜ ⵓⵏⵓⵎⵓⵔ. / iwt udfɪ.	“It snowed.”
ⵍⵓⵎⵓⵔ ⵏⵉⵎⵎⵓ. / iffɪ ɰmmu	“Hemmou went out.”

- *Direct object:*

ⵜⵓⵙⵓ ⵜⵓⵎⵓⵔⵓ ⵏⵉⵎⵎⵓⵔ. / tswa tslmya akffay.	“The baby drank milk.”
--	------------------------

- *Indirect object:*

ⵍⵓⵎⵓⵔ ⵏⵉⵎⵎⵓⵔ ⵏ ⵗⵎⵓⵙ.
iwca adlis i gmas.
“He gave the book to his brother.”

When these elements coexist in a single sentence, the canonical order is as follows:

V + S + DO + IO + PP

ሂፅፀ. ማጠራጠ ሂጠፀፀፀ ሂፀ ሂጠራፀፀ ሂ ሂፀፀፀ. / ibda uslmad idlism xf inlmadn g tinml. “The teacher distributed the books to the pupils at school.”
ማ ሂፀሂ ሂፀፀፀ ሂፀፀፀፀ ሂ ሂፀፀፀፀ ሂፀፀፀ. / ad isy hmmu tiggmmi i yillis imal. “Hemmou will buy a house to his daughter next year.”

(i) Subject

The subject is placed either before or after the verb. When it is placed after the verb, it usually appears in the construct state (CS), a state that modifies the initial vowel of masculine nouns, as well as the vowel that appears after the first *ፌ* / *t* of the discontinuous circumfix *ፌ ... (ፌ) / t ... (t)* in feminine nouns (*cf.* 3.1.3.b).

The function of the CS marker is of prime importance because it distinguishes the subject from the object (complement), the latter always holds in the free state (FS), as evinced in the following examples:

ሂፀፀ. ማፀፀ. / icca uslm.	“The fish has eaten.”
ሂፀፀ. ማፀፀ. / icca aslm.	“He ate the fish (one fish).”

When the subject is at the top of the sentence, it surfaces in the free state form.

ፀፀፀፀ ሂፀፀፀ. / afrux irwl.	“The boy fled.”
ፀፀፀፀ ሂፀፀፀፀ. / abrid yaggug.	“The way is long.”

Generally speaking, the function of a subject can be assumed by a variety of elements, such as:

- *A noun (kinship or ordinary noun):*

ሂፀፀ ሂ ሂፀፀፀፀ. / yusi d unmaddu.	“The traveller came back.”
ፀፀፀፀ ሂፀፀ ሂ. / anmaddu yusi d.	“The traveller came back.”
ሂፀፀ ሂፀፀ. / iffɣ urba.	“The boy went out”
ፀፀ. ሂፀፀፀ. / uma iffɣ.	“My brother went out.”

- *A quality noun:*

ሂፀፀፀፀ ሂፀፀፀፀ. / issiwl umqqran.	“The old man spoke.”
--------------------------------	----------------------

◌Ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲓⲛⲓⲱⲧ. / amqqran issiwl.	“The old man spoke.”
----------------------------------	----------------------

- *A free pronoun:*

ⲙⲓⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲓⲛⲓⲱⲧ. / irah nnta.	“He went.”
ⲙⲓⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲓⲛⲓⲱⲧ. / nnta irah.	“(He), he went.”

- *A demonstrative pronoun:*

ⲙⲓⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲓⲛⲓⲱⲧ. / yusi d wann.	“He came, that one.”
ⲙⲓⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲓⲛⲓⲱⲧ. / wann yusi d.	“That one came.”

- *An indefinite pronoun:*

ⲙⲓⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲓⲛⲓⲱⲧ. / idda d ca n yidj.	“Someone came.”
ⲙⲓⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲓⲛⲓⲱⲧ. / ca n yidj idda d.	“Someone came.”

- *A possessive pronoun:*

ⲙⲓⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲓⲛⲓⲱⲧ. / imqqur winu.	“Mine is big.”
ⲙⲓⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲓⲛⲓⲱⲧ. / winu imqqur.	“Mine is big.”

- *A numeral:*

ⲙⲓⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲓⲛⲓⲱⲧ. / ffynt snat.	“Two went out.”
ⲙⲓⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲓⲛⲓⲱⲧ. / snat ffynt.	“Two went out.”

(ii) Topic indicator

Some elements, usually postposed to the verb, are subject to topicalization. Put in another way, these elements are subject to movement to the head of the sentence, hence the name “topic indicator”. Their position at the head of the sentence is concomitant with a change in their primary function. Topicalized elements are always in the free state. Irrespective of their basic function (subject, direct object or indirect object), they are endorsed by affixal personal pronouns with which they agree in gender and number. In writing, a topic indicator is separated by a comma from the verb. Topicalization is one among a varied set of focalization processes in Amazigh.

In general terms, the function of a topic indicator can be carried out by the following categories:

- *A noun:*

◌ⲙⲓⲛⲓⲱⲧ, ⲙⲓⲛⲓⲱⲧ. / argaz, iffɣ.	“The man, he went out.”
---------------------------------	-------------------------

ዐጽዐጼ, ጼባየተ. / argaz, zṛiy t.	“The man, I saw him.”
ዐጽዐጼ, ዘጸየተ. ፀ. ጼዘዐ. / argaz, fkiy as aẓnnaṛ.	“The man, I have given him the Bournous.”

• *A quality noun:*

ዐሃጼዐጼ, ጼባየተ. / ayzzaf, zṛiy t.	“The tall man, I saw him.”
ዐርሃዐዐ, ዐጽየተ. ፀ. / amqqran, yriy as.	“The big man, I called him.”
ዐርጼጼዐ, ሂለሌ. ጽ ሀፍርዐ. / amẓzyan, idda ag wumas.	“The young boy, He went with his brother.”

• *A numeral:*

ፀደ ዐዘ, ለለዐ ለ. / sin ann, ddan d.	“Those two, they have come (here).”
ፀደ ዐዘ, ጼባየተ. / sin ann, zṛiy tn.	“Those two, I have seen them.”
ፀደ ዐዘ, ዘጸየተ. ፀ. ለዘፍርዐ. / sin ann, fkiy asn adlis.	“Those two, I have given them the book.”

• *An independent pronoun:*

ተተዐ, ሂዐዐ. / nnta, irah.	“(He), he went.”
ተተዐ, ጼባየተ. / nnta, zṛiy t.	“(He), I saw him.”
ተተዐ, ፍጽየተ. ፀ. ተደላዐፍደ. / nnta, uciy as tineacin.	“(He), I have given him the money.”
ተተዐ, ሂለሌ. ጽ ፀ. ፀ. ፀ. / nnta, idda ag babas.	“(He), he went with his father.”

• *A demonstrative pronoun:*

ሀዐዘ, ሂዐዐ. / wann, irah.	“(That one), he went.”
ሀደዘ, ርዘየተ. ፀ. ፀ. ፀ. / winn, mliy as abrid.	“(That one), I showed him the way.”
ሀደደደ, ፍጽየተ. ፀ. ተ. ርርዐ. / winin, uciy asn tammemt.	“(Those ones), I have given them honey.”

ተ.፡, ተለሎ. ፊጽ ተርለሎጽዝተ ስፀ / tan, tdda ag tmddak ^w lt nns.	“(This one), she went with her friend.
---	---

- *A possessive pronoun:*

ሀፂ፡, ፂርጼጼፂ. / winu, imzzi.	“Mine is small.”
ሀፂ፡ፀ፡, ጼፂፂፂ ተ. / winsn, zṛiy t.	“Theirs, I have seen it.”
ሀፂ፡ፀ፡, ፀፀፂፂፂፂ ፡ፀ. / winsn, ssiwly as.	“Theirs, I have talked to him.”

(iii) *Direct object*

The direct object comes immediately after the verb in a minimal sentence (i.e. a sentence without a lexical subject), or after the lexical subject in an expanded sentence. The direct object is always in the free state.

ፂፀዮ. ፡ዘር.ለ ልዘፂፀ. / isya unlmad adlis.	“The boy has bought a book.”
--	------------------------------

The direct object can be replaced by an affixal pronoun with the same function. When the direct object is replaced by a pronoun, the pronoun appears immediately after the verb and before the lexical subject (if there is one) provided that no pronoun-attracting preverbal element holds in the sentence, i.e. elements, like (፡ፀ / ur, ል / ad, ፂፀ / is ...), which require the pronoun to move to a position before the verb:

ፂ፡ፂ ተ ፡ፀርርፂፂ. / yay t uşmmid.	“He is cold.”
፡ፀ ተ ፂ፡ፂ ፡ፀርርፂፂ. / ur t yay uşmmid.	“He is not cold.”

In general terms, the direct object function can be assumed by:

- *A noun:*

ፂፀዮ. ተ፡ጼ፡ፀፂተ. / isya taknarit.	“He bought prickly pears.”
-----------------------------------	----------------------------

- *A numeral:*

ፂፂፂፂ ጸፂ፡ፂ (፡) ፂፀዘር.፡ / ittf kṛaḍ (n) islman.	“He caught three fish.”
---	-------------------------

- *A noun phrase:*

ᲥᲞᲚ ᲙᲟ ᲥᲟᲙᲚᲟᲗ ᲙᲟᲥᲟᲗ. /
iwca as islman n uyzi.

“He gave him river fish.”

- *A quality noun:*

ᲥᲙᲟᲗ ᲙᲟᲥᲟᲗ. /
izra axatar.

“He saw the big one.”

- *An affixal pronoun:*

ᲥᲟᲟᲥ Ყ. / ibbi t.

“He cut it.”

- *A demonstrative pronoun:*

ᲥᲟᲙᲟ ᲙᲟ. / iela wa.

“He saw this one.”

- *An indefinite pronoun:*

ᲥᲙᲟᲗ ᲚᲟ ᲙᲟᲥᲟᲗ. /
izra ca n yijj.

“He saw someone.”

- *A possessive pronoun or phrase:*

ᲥᲟᲗ ᲙᲟᲥᲟᲗ. / ira winu.

“He wants mine.”

(iv) *Indirect object*

The indirect object is always introduced by the dative preposition Ქ / i “to”; it also surfaces in the construct state owing to the influence exercised by the preposition.

ᲥᲙᲟᲗ ᲙᲟᲥᲟᲗ ᲥᲟᲙᲟᲗ Ქ ᲥᲟᲙᲟᲗ. /
ifka uslmad idlism i inlmadn.
“The teacher gave the books to pupils.”

The indirect object can be substituted by an affixal personal pronoun. The latter intervenes between the verb and the lexical subject, and the whole is followed by the direct object.

ᲥᲟᲥᲟ ᲙᲟᲥᲟᲗ ᲥᲟᲙᲟᲗ. /
ibda asn uslmad idlism.
“The teacher distributed the books to them.”

When the direct and indirect pronominal objects coexist in the same sentence, it is the second that comes before the first:

ጸፀዬ ፡፱፻፳፭ ለ ሰጠኝ ጸ ሰጠኝ ለሰጠኝ ፡ / ib፩a uslmad idlīs i inlmadn.	“The teacher distributed the books to the students.”
ጸፀዬ ፡፱፻ ፡፱ ፡፱፻፳፭ ለ ፡ / ib፩a asn tn uslmad.	“The teacher distributed them (the books) to them.”

b. Agreement

There are three types of agreement:

- Agreement between the subject and the verb;
- Agreement between the topic indicator and the verb;
- Agreement between the topic indicator and the endorsing affixal pronouns.

(i) Agreement between the subject and the verb

The verb agrees in gender, number and person with the lexical subject irrespective of its position relative to the verb, preposed or postposed.

ጸገገህ ፡፱፻፱ ፡ / iffŷ urba.	“The boy went out.”
፡፱፻፱ ጸገገህ ፡ / arba iffŷ.	“The boy, he went out.”
ተገገህ ተ፱፻፱ ፡ / tffŷ trbat.	“The girl went out.”
ተ፱፻፱ ተገገህ ፡ / tarbat tffŷ.	“The girl, she went out”
ገገህ ጸገገገ፻፱፻፱ ፡ / ffŷn iḥnjirm.	“The boys went out.”
ጸገገገ፻፱፻፱ ገገህ ፡ // iḥnjirm ffŷn.	“The boys, they went out.”
ገገህ ተ፳፻፱፻፱ ፡ / ffŷnt tcirratin.	“The girls went out.”
ተጸገገ፻፱፻፱ ገገህ ተ፡ / tiḥnjirin ffŷnt.	“The girls, they went out.”

When the subject is a noun phrase, two scenarios are observed depending on whether the subject is postposed or preposed to the verb. If the subject is postposed to the verb, agreement in gender and number with the first element of the noun phrase is observed, as illustrated in the following examples:

ጸ፱፻፳፻ ፡፱፻፱ ፡ ለ ተ፱፻፱ ፡ / iraḥ urba d trbat.	“The boy and the girl went.”
ተ፱፻፳፻ ተ፱፻፱ ፡ ለ ፡፱፻፱ ፡ / traḥ trbat d urba.”	“The girl and the boy went.”
፱፻፳፻ ጸ፱፻፱ ፡ ለ ተ፱፻፱ ፡ / raḥn irban d trbatin.	“The boys and the girls went.”
፱፻፳፻ ተ፱፻፱ ፡ ለ ጸ፱፻፱ ፡ / raḥnt trbatin d irban.	“The girls and the boys went.”

If the noun phrase is preposed to the verb, and if the nouns that make up the noun phrase are of different gender, the verb takes the masculine plural form:

፬፬፬፬ ለ ተርዩዩዩት ለሌሊ. / argaz d tmṭtuḍt dḍan.	“The man and the woman went.”
ተርዩዩዩት ለ ሃጸሁጸ፬ ለሌሊ. / tamṭtuḍt d yiwiṣ dḍan.	“The woman and her son went.”

(ii) *Agreement between the topic indicator and the verb*

Agreement holds between the topic indicator and the verb if the moved element is the subject of the verb:

፬፬፬፬፬፬, ጸ፬፬፬. / aḥrmuc, irah.	“The boy, he went.”
ተ፬፬፬፬፬፬, ተ፬፬፬. / taḥrmuct, traḥ.	“The girl, she went.”
ጸ፬፬፬፬፬፬, ፬፬፬፬. / iḥrmucn, raḥn.	“The boys, they went.”
ተጸ፬፬፬፬፬፬፬, ፬፬፬፬ተ. / tiḥrmucin, raḥnt.	“The girls, they went.”

(iii) *Agreement between the topic indicator and the endorsing affixal pronouns*

When the topic indicator is a complement, it is endorsed by a direct object pronoun that has the same morphological features (the same gender, number and person of the topic indicator).

- *Agreement between the topic indicator and the direct object affixal pronouns*

፬፬፬፬፬, ፬፬፬፬ ተ. / ayyis, unniy t.	“The horse, I saw it.”
ተ፬፬፬፬፬፬, ፬፬፬፬ ተተ. / tafruxt, zṛiy tt.	“The girl, I saw her.”
ጸ፬፬፬፬፬፬, ፬፬፬፬ ተተ. / ilyman, zṛiy tn.	“The camels, I saw them.”
ተጸ፬፬፬፬፬፬፬፬, ፬፬፬፬ ተተ. / timdyazin, zṛiy tnt.	“The singers, I saw them.”

- *Agreement between the topic indicator and the indirect object affixal pronouns*

ተ፬፬፬፬, ፬፬፬፬ ፬፬ ጸ፬፬፬፬፬. / tarbat, uciy as ijgign.	“The girl, I have offered her flowers.”
ጸ፬፬፬፬፬, ፬፬፬፬ ፬፬ ፬፬፬፬፬. / imnayn, mliy asn abrid.	“The knights, I have shown them the way.”
ጸ፬፬፬፬, ፬፬፬፬ ፬፬ተ ፬፬፬ ፬፬ተ. / istma, uciy asnt amur nnsnt.	“My sisters, I have given them their share.”

V + IO Pron + DO Pron + S + Comp

ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ ᵐᵐ ᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ ᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐ.

isskk as tt mimun ag umddakk^{wl} nns.

“Mimoun sent it to him with his friend.”

If a sentence has one of the particles of attraction (ᵐᵐ / ur, ᵐᵐ / ad, ᵐᵐ / is, ...), the customary order of constituents in the sentence changes, and the pronouns appear in a preverbal position. Hence, we obtain the following orders:

Part. + DO pron. + V + S + IO + Comp

ᵐᵐ ᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ ᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ ᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐ.

ur tt isskk mimun i memmis ag umddakk^{wl} nns.

“Mimoun did not send it to his son with his friend.”

Part. + IO pron. + V + S + DO + Comp

ᵐᵐ ᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ ᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐ.

ur as issikk mimun tabrat ag umddakk^{wl} nns.

“Mimoun did not send the letter to him with his friend.”

Part. + IO pron. + DO pron. + V + S + Comp

ᵐᵐ ᵐᵐ ᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ ᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐᵐ ᵐᵐᵐᵐ.

ur as tt issikk mimun ag umddukl nns.

“Mimoun did not send it to him with his friend.”

Besides the canonical order *verb – subject – complement*, a composite of other orders are observed and are generally used to express emphasis. From the foregoing, it can be concluded that all constituents, to the exception of verbs, are able to fill the function of a topic indicator and be placed at the beginning of a sentence (*cf.* 8.1.1.a).

1.2. Non-verbal sentence

A non-verbal sentence is dubbed so because it does not have a verb. Of the two main constituents that make up a non-verbal sentence, the predicate is obligatory whereas the subject is optional. Amazigh recognises a composite of various non-verbal sentences depending on the nature of the predicate and on the presence / absence of predication morphemes.

a. Predicates introduced by the predication particle Λ / d

The predication particle Λ / d “it is” is invariable, and the nominal predicate (or its equivalents, i.e. a quality noun, an independent pronoun, a numeral, etc.) that it introduces always takes the free state form:

Λ օԸԼԷօՁ. / d amḥḍar.	“It is a student.”
Λ ԺօԸԿօՕԺ. / d tamṙart.	“It is a woman.”
Λ օՄՃՃ“օԿ. / d azgg ^w ay.	“It is red.”
Λ ՅԺԸօՕ. / d ultmas.	“It is his sister.”
Λ ԼԺԺօԺ. / d nttat.	“It is her.”
Λ Ժօ. / d ta	“It is this one (fem.).”
Λ Լօ Λ . / d wad.	“It is this one (masc.).”
Λ ԼՁԼՁ. / d winu.	“It is mine.”

Preceded by the particle Λ / d, the nominal sentence expresses many semantic values, such as existence, introduction, identification and emphasis.

The subject of a nominal sentence is placed at the head of the sentence:

ԼԸԸՁ Λ օԸԼԷօՁ. / ḥmmu d amḥḍar.	“Hemmou is a student.”
Λ օ Λ օՕ Λ օԸԿօՕ. / daddas d amṙar.	“His elder brother is the chief.”
ԺԼԸօ Λ ԺօԸՄՄՅօԼԺ. / eica d tamzzyant.	“Aicha is the youngest.”

Non-verbal phrases introduced by Λ / d may contain the presenter morpheme \mathbb{Z} օ / qa “here is”; this morpheme is realized also as \mathbb{O} օ \mathbb{Z} օ / haqa:

\mathbb{Z} օ Λ օԸ Λ օՂՂ“Ժ ՁԼՁ. / qa d amddakk ^w l inu.	“This is my friend.”
---	----------------------

b. Predicates introduced by \mathbb{O} օ / ha or \mathbb{O} օ \mathbb{Z} օ / haqa

The morpheme \mathbb{O} օ / ha “here is” and its variant \mathbb{O} օ \mathbb{Z} օ / haqa function in the same way as the predication particle Λ / d “it is”, in the sense that all of them introduce different types of predicates, such as nominals and their substitutes which all appear in the free state.

\mathbb{O} օ օՃՃՁՕ. / ha ayyis.	“Here is a horse.”
\mathbb{O} օ \mathbb{Z} օ օՄՃՃ“օԿ. / haqa azgg ^w ay.	“Here is the red one.”

᠓ᠤ ᠤ᠋ᠨ. / ha wa.	“Here is this one.”
᠓ᠤᠵᠤ ᠨᠠᠭᠠ ᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ. / haqa nkkni.	“Here we are.”
᠓ᠤ ᠨᠠᠭᠤᠨᠠᠳᠤ (ᠤ) ᠲᠤᠨᠤᠨᠠᠳᠤᠰᠤ. / ha kṛaḍṭ (n) tbratin.	“Here are three letters”
᠓ᠤ ᠲ. / ha t.	“Here it is.”
᠓ᠤ ᠲᠤ. / ha tn.	“Here they are.”

c. *Predicates without introducing morphemes*

There are various types of predicates that are devoid of any introducing morphemes. Among these predicates, we may well mention:

- *The prepositional phrase*

A preposition along with its affixal pronoun may well fill the role of a predicate and make up a non-verbal sentence with the noun phrase that follows:

ᠶᠤᠵᠤᠰ ᠤᠤᠤᠨ. / ṽurs lwacun.	“He / she has children.”
ᠤᠨᠤᠵᠤ ᠰᠢᠵᠤᠨᠠᠳᠤ. / dars iqariḍn.	“He / she has money.”
ᠶᠤᠵᠤᠰ ᠰᠢᠢ ᠤᠨᠠᠳᠤᠰᠤ. / ṽuri ijj n uḥnjir.	“I have a boy.”
ᠤᠰᠰᠤᠨ ᠤᠤᠤ. / dīgs aman.	“There is water inside.”

The morpheme ᠵᠤ / qa “here is / there is”, which it is used in non-verbal structures with ᠤ / d, can also be used with prepositional predicates.

ᠵᠤ ᠤᠰᠢᠨᠠ ᠰᠢᠳᠤ ᠤᠨᠠᠳᠤᠰᠤ. /
 qa dinni ict n tḥrast.
 “A pear tree is there.”

- *An adverb*

ᠡᠭᠠᠨ ᠤᠨᠠᠳᠤ ! / bṛṛa !	“Outside!”
ᠤᠨ / ᠶᠤᠰᠤ / ᠤᠨᠤᠨ ᠤᠨᠠᠳᠤ ? // da / ṽi / daha ?	“Here?”
ᠤᠨᠤᠨ. / wasa.	“Now.”

- *A noun phrase specified or not by a complement*

ᠰᠤᠰᠤᠨ ᠤᠨᠠᠳᠤ / ussan ad	“these days”
ᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠰᠢᠢ ᠤᠨᠠᠳᠤ ᠨᠠᠭᠤ. / kul ijj s umur nns.	“Everyone has his own share.”
ᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠰᠤᠤ ᠤᠨᠠᠳᠤ ᠨᠠᠭᠤ. / ku yan s udlis nns.	“Each one has his own book.”

- *A comparative noun phrase*

ሠላም ስለሰላም ስለሰላም ስለሰላም / awal nnk am wawal nns.	“Your words are the same as his.”
ኔደደደ ጽደደ ለ ለደደደ / Ittu zun d eli.	“Itto is like Ali.”

- *An interrogative structure*

ርዕሱ ሆነ ? / matta wa ?	“What is this ?”
ርዕሱ ሆነ ? / mayar ta ?	“Why this one?”
ርዕሱ ሆነ ? / mani wa ?	“Which one?”

2. Negative sentence

The negative sentence is either verbal or non-verbal. In both cases, it is characterised by the use of the morpheme of negation ን / ur “not”.

2.1. Verbal negation

Under verbal negation, we mean a verbal sentence made up of a verb and the morpheme of negation ን / ur “not”. The function of the morpheme ን / ur is to deny and negate the process expressed by the predicate of the sentence, i.e. the verb. ን / ur can either be used alone or accompanied with a second element of negation.

a. The morpheme ን / ur

ን / ur always holds in a preverbal position. It has a composite of variants, like ን / u, which is a reduced form of ን / ur (or ን / ul), as well as ሠ / wa and ሠላ / war.

In general terms, negation brings about some alterations on the perfective theme by introducing the vowel ኔ / i at the end of the verb or before the final consonant (cf. 5.1.3 c).

ን ኔሰሠ ሠላ. / ur iswi aman.	“He did not drink water.”
ን ኔሰሠ ሠላ. / ur inni awal a.	“He did not say these words.”
ን ኔሰሠ ጽደደ ለደደደ. / ur ikli g tgmme.	“He did not spend the day at home.”

ꠄꠤ ꠤꠤꠤ ꠤꠤꠤ ꠤꠤ ꠤꠤꠤ ꠤꠤꠤꠤ. / ur jjun rad ak iml aḡaras.	“He will never show you the way.”
ꠄꠤ ꠤꠤꠤ ꠤꠤꠤ ꠤꠤ ꠤꠤꠤ ꠤꠤꠤ. / ur jjin izṛi memmis.	“He has never seen his son.”
ꠄꠤ ꠤꠤꠤ ꠤꠤꠤ ꠤꠤꠤ ꠤ. / ur jjun inni izli a.	“He has never sung this song..”
ꠄꠤ ꠤꠤꠤ ꠤ ꠤꠤꠤꠤ. / ur jjin t umiḡn.	“They have never arrested him.”

From an aspecto-temporal standpoint, the morphemes ꠄꠤ ꠤꠤꠤ / ur sar and ꠄꠤ ꠤꠤꠤ (ꠄꠤ ꠤꠤꠤ) / ur jjin (ur jjun) are complementary; the first situates the process in the future while the second situates it in the past.

- ꠄꠤ ꠤ / ur ta, ꠄꠤ ... ꠤꠤꠤ / ur ... ead “not ... yet”:

ꠄꠤ ꠤ ꠤ ꠤꠤꠤꠤ. / ur ta d ilkim.	“He has not arrived yet.”
ꠄꠤ ꠤꠤꠤꠤꠤ ꠤꠤꠤ. / ur issiwl ead.	“He has not spoken yet.”
ꠄꠤ ꠤ ꠤꠤꠤ ꠤꠤꠤ. / ur d yusi ead.	“He has not come yet.”

- ꠄꠤ ... ꠤꠤꠤ / ur ... sul “never (future)”:

ꠄꠤ ꠤꠤꠤ ꠤꠤꠤ ꠤꠤ. / ur sul ṛiḡ uma.	“I have not seen my brother anymore.”
ꠄꠤ ꠤꠤꠤ ꠤꠤꠤ ꠤ ꠤꠤꠤꠤꠤ. / ur sul iddi s tmazirt.	“He has not been to the country anymore.”

- ꠄꠤ ... ꠤꠤꠤꠤ (ꠄꠤ ... ꠤꠤꠤꠤ) / ur ... qqah (ur ... qqae), ꠄꠤ ꠤꠤꠤ / ur ... akk^w “not at all, not even”:

ꠄꠤ ꠤꠤꠤꠤ ꠤꠤꠤꠤ. / ur iṭṭiṣ qqah.	“He has not slept at all.”
ꠄꠤ ꠤꠤꠤ ꠤꠤꠤ. / ur akk ^w ccin.	“They have not even eaten.”

The morpheme ꠤꠤꠤꠤ (ꠤꠤꠤꠤ) / qqah (qqae) can be used at the head of the sentence:

ꠤꠤꠤꠤ ꠄꠤ ꠤꠤ ꠤꠤꠤꠤꠤ.
qqah ur as ssawal.
“Never speak to him again.”

- 𐌰 𐌵𐌹𐌸 (𐌵𐌹𐌸) / ur ... yas (xas), 𐌰 𐌵𐌹𐌸 (𐌵𐌹𐌸) / ur ... abla (bla) “no / nobody / nothing ... but”:

𐌰 𐌵𐌹𐌸 𐌵𐌹𐌸 / ur iddi yas nttā.	“Nobody left but him.”
𐌰 𐌵𐌹𐌸 𐌵𐌹𐌸 𐌵𐌹𐌸 / ur nȳri abla iȳtu.	“We have not seen but Iȳto.”

- 𐌰 𐌵𐌹𐌸 / ur ... amya, 𐌰 𐌵𐌹𐌸 / ur ... walu, 𐌰 𐌵𐌹𐌸 / ur ... yat “not ... anything”, 𐌰 𐌵𐌹𐌸 / 𐌵𐌹𐌸 // ur ... yan / ijj, 𐌰 𐌵𐌹𐌸 / ur ... ȳdd “not ... anybody”

The above different negative forms are used when negation is partial. Put in another way, the forms are observed when negation bears on one of the constituents of the sentence that has a specific grammatical function.

𐌰 𐌵𐌹𐌸 𐌵𐌹𐌸 / ur issin amya.	“He does not know anything.”
𐌰 𐌵𐌹𐌸 𐌵𐌹𐌸 / ur nniȳ walu.	“I did not say anything.”
𐌰 𐌵𐌹𐌸 𐌵𐌹𐌸 𐌵𐌹𐌸 / ur iffiȳ ȳdd.	“Nobody went out.”
𐌰 𐌵𐌹𐌸 𐌵𐌹𐌸 / ur isawl yan.	“Nobody spoke.”
𐌰 𐌵𐌹𐌸 𐌵𐌹𐌸 / ur ȳrin yat.	“They did not see anything.”

Along with the negative forms 𐌰 𐌵𐌹𐌸 (𐌵𐌹𐌸) / ur ... yan (ijj), it is possible to use the morphemes 𐌵𐌹𐌸 / ag, 𐌵𐌹𐌸 / awd, 𐌵𐌹𐌸 / ula and 𐌵𐌹𐌸 / ȳtta “even” which surface immediately before 𐌵𐌹𐌸 / yan and 𐌵𐌹𐌸 / ijj.

𐌰 𐌵𐌹𐌸 𐌵𐌹𐌸 / ur iddi ȳtta yan.	“Nobody went.”
𐌰 𐌵𐌹𐌸 𐌵𐌹𐌸 𐌵𐌹𐌸 / ur d yusi ag ijj.	“Nobody came.”
𐌰 𐌵𐌹𐌸 𐌵𐌹𐌸 𐌵𐌹𐌸 / ur tt yumin ula ijj.	“Nobody believed her.”
𐌰 𐌵𐌹𐌸 𐌵𐌹𐌸 / ur isawl awd yan.	“Nobody spoke.”

The morphemes 𐌵𐌹𐌸 𐌵𐌹𐌸 / ag idj, 𐌵𐌹𐌸 𐌵𐌹𐌸 / awd yan, 𐌵𐌹𐌸 𐌵𐌹𐌸 / ula ijj and 𐌵𐌹𐌸 𐌵𐌹𐌸 / ȳtta yan can appear at the head of a sentence:

𐌵𐌹𐌸 𐌵𐌹𐌸 𐌵𐌹𐌸 / ag idj ur d yusi.	“Nobody came.”
𐌵𐌹𐌸 𐌵𐌹𐌸 𐌵𐌹𐌸 / ȳtta yan ur iddi.	“Nobody went.”
𐌵𐌹𐌸 𐌵𐌹𐌸 𐌵𐌹𐌸 / awd yan ur issiwl.	“Nobody spoke.”
𐌵𐌹𐌸 𐌵𐌹𐌸 𐌵𐌹𐌸 / ula ijj ur tt yumin.	“Nobody believed her.”

- // **ur ... kra / ur ... ca / ur ... ci** “*not ... anything*”

ᲞᲐ / kra, ᲞᲑ / ca and ᲞᲑ / ci are indefinite morphemes that are used when negation is partial.

ᲞᲐ ᲞᲑᲑᲑᲑ ᲞᲑ. / ur syin ca.	“They have not bought anything.”
ᲞᲐ ᲑᲑᲑᲑ ᲞᲑ. / ur yufi ca.	“He has not found anything.”

- ᲞᲐ ... ᲞᲑ / ur ... ula, ᲞᲐ ... ᲞᲑ ... ᲞᲑ / ur ... la ... la “*neither ... nor*”

These morphemes are used when negation bears on a coordinate NP.

ᲞᲐᲑᲑ ᲑᲑᲑᲑ ᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑ. / annayy ḥmmu d yidir.	“I saw Hemmou and Idir.”
ᲞᲐ ᲑᲑᲑᲑ ᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑ ᲞᲑ ᲑᲑᲑᲑ. / ur yannay ḥmmu ula idir.	“He saw neither Hemmou nor Idir.”
ᲞᲐ ᲑᲑᲑ ᲑᲑᲑ ᲞᲑ ᲞᲑᲑᲑ. / ur inni yah ula lawah.	“He said neither yes nor no.”
ᲞᲐ ᲑᲑᲑᲑ ᲞᲑ ᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑ ᲞᲑ ᲑᲑᲑᲑ. / ur izri la taḥddut la bajju.	“He saw neither Tahddout nor Bajjou.”

- ᲞᲐ ... ᲞᲑ / ur ... bu “*not ... at all*”

The morpheme ᲞᲐ / ur can be followed by ᲞᲑ / bu (ᲞᲐ ... ᲞᲑ / ur ... bu) to express a semantic value of intensity missing in the form without ᲞᲑ.

ᲞᲐ ᲞᲑᲑᲑ ᲑᲑᲑᲑ. / ur syiy aḍil.	“I bought no grapes.”
ᲞᲐ ᲞᲑᲑᲑ ᲞᲑ ᲑᲑᲑᲑ. / ur syiy bu waḍil /	“I have not bought any grapes.”
ᲞᲐ ᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑ ᲞᲑ ᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑ. / ur umiḥn bu tmnayt.	“They received no money.”
ᲞᲐ ᲑᲑᲑᲑ ᲞᲑ ᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑ. / ur yurs bu uxxam.	“He does not have any house.”

The constituent that follows ᲞᲑ / bu takes the construct state form if it is a noun.

2.2. Non-verbal negation

A non-verbal negative sentence (*cf.* 8.1.2) is introduced by ᲞᲐ / ur “not” which comes right before the non-verbal predicate:

Λ ㊦Λᄡᆫ. / d amdyaz.	“He is a poet.”
ᄡᆫ Λ ㊦Λᄡᆫ. / ur d amdyaz.	“He is not a poet.”
Λ ㊦ᄡᆫᄡᆫᄡᆫ. / ur d amzzyan.	“It is the small one.”
ᄡᆫ Λ ㊦ᄡᆫᄡᆫᄡᆫ. / ur d amzzyan.	“It is not the small one.”
Λ ᄡᄡᆫ. / d ntta.	“It is him.”
ᄡᆫ Λ ᄡᄡᆫ. / ur d ntta.	“It is not him.”
ᄡᆫᄡᆫ ㊦Λᆫᄡᆫ. / yurs andaz.	“He is lucky.”
ᄡᆫ ᄡᆫᄡᆫ ㊦Λᆫᄡᆫ. / ur yurs andaz.	“He is not lucky.”
Λ ᄡᆫ. / d wa.	“It is this one.”
ᄡᆫ Λ ᄡᆫ. / ur d wa.	“It is not this one.”
Λ ᄡᄡᄡᆫ. / d winu.	“It is mine / they are mine.”
ᄡᆫ Λ ᄡᄡᄡᆫ. / ur d winu.	“It is not mine / they are not mine.”
ᄡᆫ Λ ᄡᄡᄡᆫ, ㊦ᄡᄡᄡᆫ. / ur d idnnaṭ, al azkka.	“It is not yesterday, it is until tomorrow.”
ᄡᆫ Λ ᄡᆫᆫᆫ. ㊦ᄡᄡᄡᆫ. / ur d wasa ula tiwcca.	“It is neither now nor tomorrow.”

When the predicate is a noun or an equivalent, ᄡᆫ / ur precedes the particle of predication Λ / d “it is”, hence the form ᄡᆫ Λ / ur d “it is not”. The latter structure undergoes a whole range of different alterations. Paramount among these alterations are ᄡᆫ ᄡᄡᄡᆫ / ur id and ㊦ᄡᄡᄡᆫ Λ / ulli d. The common feature between these different realisations is the presence of ᄡᆫ / ur (in a full or reduced form) as well as the predicator Λ / d.

2.3 The negation of a completive or noun clause

To form negation, the completive clause introduced by ᄡᆫᄡᆫ / is “that” is preceded by the morpheme ᄡᆫ / ur and followed by the predicator Λ / d:

ᄡᆫ Λ ᄡᆫᄡᆫ ᄡᆫᄡᆫ. ᄡᄡᄡᆫᄡᆫ. / ur d isya taddart.	“It is not the fact that he bought a house.”
ᄡᆫ Λ ᄡᆫᄡᆫ ᄡᆫᄡᆫ ᄡᄡᄡᆫ. / ur d is as nniy qqim.	“It is not the fact that I told him to stay.”

2.4. Position of direct / indirect object pronouns and orientation particles

In a negative sentence, the direct and indirect object affixal pronouns along with the particles of spatial orientation Λ / d and l / n appear in a preverbal position, immediately after the adverb of negation $\%O$ / ur. The order of the remaining elements of the sentence is left unscathed.

$\%K\Gamma \Lambda$ / yukm d.	“He came in (from here).”
$\%O \Lambda \%K\Xi\Gamma$ / ur d yukim.	“He did not come in (from here).”
$\%O\Xi\% \%O$ / $\%riy$ as.	“I called him / her.”
$\%O \%O \%O\Xi\%$ / ur as $\%riy$.	“I did not call him / her.”
$\%Q\Xi\% \%$ / $\%riy$ t.	“I saw him.”
$\%O \%$ $\%Q\Xi\%$ / ur t $\%riy$.	“I did not see him.”
$\%Q\Xi\% \%O \%$ / uciy as t.	“I gave it to him.”
$\%O \%O \%$ $\%Q\Xi\%$ / ur as t uciy.	“I did not give it to him.”

3. Interrogative

The interrogative sentence is used to ask a question or get information from an interlocutor. Questions in Amazigh are divided into two categories: closed questions (also called yes / no questions) and open-ended questions. The first category of questions bears on the whole sentence and is answered by using yes or no while the second category bears only on a single part of the sentence.

When a question is given to a present interlocutor, the interrogative sentence is termed *direct*. Conversely, when the question is introduced (within a clause) by a verb like $\%Z\%O$ / sqsa “ask”, $\%Q$ / $\%r$ “see”, etc., it is dubbed *indirect*.

3.1. Closed questions

Linguists recognise two types of closed questions: direct closed questions and indirect closed questions.

a. Direct closed questions

Direct closed questions are always answered by yes or no. If the answer is positive, we get: $\%Y\Xi\%$ / yyih, $\%O$ / yah, $\%O$ / wah “yes”. If it is negative, we get: $\%O\%$ / uhu, $\%O\Xi$ / ihi, $\%O\%O$ / lawah, $\%O$ / lla, $\%O\%O$ / arah “no”.

In writing, a direct closed question is an independent sentence characterized orally by an interrogative intonation and by a question mark. A direct closed question is used when we speak directly to an interlocutor. Two processes are deployed to express interrogation: intonation and interrogative morphemes.

(i) *Direct closed questions marked by intonation only*

ΛΛ. ? / ddan ?	“They went?”
ςξΠ† ∶ ✱ . Q. / yiwť unzar.	“It rained.”

(ii) *Direct closed questions with interrogative morphemes*

Under this category, the interrogative morphemes ξΘ / is and Γ. / ma are used to ask questions; they are compatible with verbs, nouns, quality nouns, adverbs and pronouns. Put in another way, ξΘ / is and Γ. / ma are made avail of in verbal as well as non-verbal sentences.

- *Verbal sentences*

ξΘ ΓΓ. ? / is ccan ?	“Did they eat?”
Γ. O. Λ ? / ma raħn ?	“Did they go?”

- *Non-verbal sentences*

In a non-verbal sentence where the predicate is a noun (or an equivalent) or an adverb (cf. 8.1.2.), the interrogative morphemes ξΘ / is and Γ. / ma are used with the predicative particle Λ / d to formulate the close question:

ξΘ Λ Θ. Θ. K ? / is d babak ?	“Is it your father?”
Γ. Λ ξΠξΘ ? / ma d illis ?	“Is it his / her daughter?”

ξΘ Λ K Γ Γ ? / is d kmm ?	“Is it you (fem.)?”
Γ. Λ Ι††.† ? / ma d nttat ?	“Is it her?”

ξΘ Λ . Π O. Y ? / is d awray ?	“Is it the yellow one?”
Γ. Λ . Θ O K. ? / ma d abrkan ?	“Is it the black one?”

ξΘ Λ K Q. E ? / is d krad ?	“Is it three?”
Γ. Λ Θ Γ Γ. ° ? / ma d smmus ?	“Is it five?”

ξΘ Λ Λ Λ. Π ? / is d ddaw ?	“Is it down?”
Γ. Θ Π. Λ Λ. ς ? / ma s wadday ?	“Is it down?”

᠘ᠤ ᠕ ᠤᠤ ? / ma d wa ?	“Is it this one?”
ᠰᠤᠴ ᠕ ᠰᠤᠴᠤᠮ ? / is d imal?	“Is it next year?”

When the interrogative morpheme ᠰᠤᠴ / is is used, the orientation particles (᠕ / d, ᠤ / n) and the direct and indirect object pronouns are placed before the verb, as set out in the examples below.

ᠰᠢ᠕ᠤ ᠕. / idda d.	>	ᠰᠤᠴ ᠕ ᠰᠢ᠕ᠤ ? / is d idda ?	“Did he come?”
ᠰᠢ᠋᠋᠋᠋ ᠤᠤ. / ilkm nn.	>	ᠰᠤᠴ ᠤᠤ ᠰᠢ᠋᠋᠋᠋ ? / is nn ilkm ?	“Did he arrive (there)?”
ᠰᠢ᠋᠋᠋᠋ ᠤᠤ. / izra tn.	>	ᠰᠤᠴ ᠤᠤ ᠰᠢ᠋᠋᠋᠋ ? / is tn izra ?	“Did he see them?”
ᠤ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ ᠤ᠋᠋. / tyrid as.	>	ᠰᠤᠴ ᠤ᠋᠋ ᠤ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ ? / is as tyrid ?	“Did you call him / her?”

As for the interrogative morpheme ᠘ᠤ / ma, it does not entail the movement of the orientation particles (᠕ / d, ᠤ / n) and the direct and indirect object personal pronouns to a preverbal position. Conversely, when the interrogative morpheme is followed by the particle ᠤ᠕ / ad (of the future) or the negative particle ᠤᠣ / ur, movement of the afore-mentioned elements is observed.

᠘ᠤ ᠰᠤᠴᠤᠰ ᠕ ᠤᠰᠤ ᠮᠤᠤ ? / ma yusi d niy lla ?	“Did he come or not?”
᠘ᠤ ᠤ᠕ ᠕ ᠰᠤᠴ ? / ma ad d yas ?	“Is he coming?”
᠘ᠤ ᠤᠣ ᠕ ᠤᠰᠤᠴ ? / ma ur d tusi ?	“Didn’t she come?”

b. Indirect closed questions

An indirect closed question is made up of a main clause and a subordinate interrogative clause introduced by ᠰᠤᠴ / is or ᠘ᠤ / ma:

ᠣᠵᠣᠤ ᠤ ᠰᠤᠴ ᠰᠣᠤᠤ ᠤᠤᠰ ! / sqsa t is iswa atay!	“Ask him if he drank tea!”
ᠠ᠋᠋᠋ ᠰᠤᠴ ᠕ ᠰᠤᠤᠤ ! / elu is d iwɢn !	“See if they have come!”
ᠣ᠋᠋ ᠘ᠤ ᠤᠰᠤᠴ ᠕ ᠰᠤᠴᠤᠣ ! / sal ma tusi d immas !	“Ask if his mother came!”
ᠣᠵᠣᠤ ᠤᠤ ᠘ᠤ ᠴᠴᠤᠤ ! / sqsa tn ma ccin !	“Ask (them) if they have eaten!”

3.2. Open-ended questions

An open-ended question tries to get information on one of the constituents of the sentence and always requires an explanatory answer. It is recognised by the use of a definite interrogative tool (pronoun or adverb).

a. Asking a question on the subject

To ask a question on the subject, we resort to the interrogative pronouns C_o / ma or $\text{U}\xi$ / wi which are followed by the participial form of the verb. The interrogative morphemes C_o / ma and $\text{U}\xi$ / wi are invariable. The morpheme C_o / ma is followed by the topicalizers $\text{o}\delta$ / ay or $\text{o}\Lambda$ / ad, hence the forms C_o $\text{o}\delta$ / ma ay or C_o $\text{o}\Lambda$ / ma ad. At the phonetic level, C_o $\text{o}\delta$ / ma ay is realized as $\text{C}_o\delta$ / may or $\text{C}_o\mathcal{X}$ / mag and C_o $\text{o}\Lambda$ / ma ad is realized as $\text{C}_o\Lambda$ / mad or C_o / ma. The different realizations are dependent on the context of use.

C_o $\text{o}\delta$ $\xi\mathcal{H}\mathcal{H}\mathcal{Y}$? / ma ay iffyn ?	“Who went out?”
C_o $\text{o}\Lambda$ $\xi\Lambda\Lambda\text{o}$? / ma ad iddan ?	“Who went?”
$\text{U}\xi$ Λ $\delta\text{e}\Lambda\mathcal{H}$? / wi d yudfn ?	“Who came in?”
$\text{U}\xi$ t $\xi\text{I}\text{o}$? / wi t innan ?	“Who told it?”
$\text{U}\xi$ Λ $\delta\text{e}\text{e}\xi$? / u d yusin ?	“Who came?”

Before a nominal subject, it is the interrogative morpheme C_oI / man that is employed. The latter is invariable and does not exercise any influence whatsoever on the state of the noun that it specifies. The verb that follows remains in the participial form.

C_oI $\text{o}\mathcal{X}\text{E}\text{o}\text{Q}$ II $\xi\Theta\Theta\xi$ $\xi\text{C}_o\mathcal{M}\text{o}\text{e}\text{e}$ $\text{o}\Lambda$? / man amħdař nn ibbin imalass ad ?	“Which student has been absent this week?”
C_oI $\text{t}_o\text{C}\text{E}\text{E}\text{e}\text{t}$ $\xi\Theta\mathcal{Y}\text{o}$ $\text{t}_o\text{I}_o\mathcal{R}\text{Q}_o$? / man tamtřudř isyan tanakřa ?	“Which woman bought the rug?”

b. Asking a question on the direct object

Asking about the direct object necessitates the use of one of the following interrogative morphemes: C_o / ma (followed by $\text{o}\Lambda$ / ad or $\text{o}\delta$ / ay), $\text{C}\xi\text{I}$ / min, $\text{C}_o\delta\text{I}$ / mayn or $\text{U}\xi$ / wi “what, whom”. The verbs that follow these interrogative morphemes do not take the participial form and are conjugated normally.

ᠤ᠋᠋ᠠ᠋ ᠲᠤᠴᠤ᠋᠋᠋ ? / ma ad tccam ?	“What have you eaten?.”
ᠤ᠋᠋ ᠲᠤᠣᠣᠵᠢ᠋᠋᠋ ? / ma ay tsyid ?	“What have you bought?”
ᠤ᠋᠋᠋ ᠲᠠ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ ? / min tnnim ?	“What did you (plr.) say?”
ᠤ᠋᠋᠋᠋ ᠠ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ ? / mayn d iwint ?	“What did they (fem.) bring?”
ᠤ᠋᠋ ᠲᠤ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ ? / wi tʒrid ?	“What have you seen?”
ᠤ᠋᠋ ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ ? / u ʒrint ?	“Who did they (fem.) see?”

Before a direct object, the interrogative morpheme ᠤ᠋᠋ / ma can be employed. Under this display, the interrogative morpheme functions as a determiner.

ᠤ᠋᠋ ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ ᠋᠋᠋ ᠲᠤ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ ? /
man aʒnnaʒ ad trid ?
“Which bournous would you like?”

c. Asking a question on the indirect object

When the inquiry holds on an indirect object, the interrogative sentence is introduced by the morpheme ᠤ᠋᠋ / ma or ᠤ᠋᠋ / u, followed by the morpheme ᠤ᠋᠋ / mi and / or the preposition that precedes the indirect object. The three elements may coexist, bringing about complex forms like: ᠤ᠋᠋ ᠋᠋᠋ ᠤ᠋᠋ / ma i mi “to whom”, ᠤ᠋᠋ ᠋᠋᠋ ᠤ᠋᠋ / ma s mi “with what” and ᠤ᠋᠋ ᠋᠋᠋ ᠤ᠋᠋ / ma xf mi “on what, about what ...”.

ᠤ᠋᠋᠋᠋ ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ / iwca iqarɨɖn i eli.	“He gave the money to Ali.”
ᠤ᠋᠋ ᠤ᠋᠋ ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ ? / ma mi iwca iqarɨɖn ?	“To whom did he give the money?”

ᠤ᠋᠋ / ma and ᠤ᠋᠋ / u always appear at the beginning of the interrogative sentence followed by ᠤ᠋᠋ / mi (ᠤ᠋᠋ ᠤ᠋᠋ / ma mi, ᠤ᠋᠋ ᠤ᠋᠋ / u mi “to whom”) especially when the preposition ᠋᠋ / i introduces the indirect object. The preposition ᠋᠋ / i may also hold before the morpheme ᠤ᠋᠋ / mi (᠋᠋ ᠤ᠋᠋ / i mi).

ᠤ᠋᠋᠋᠋ ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ / iwca iqarɨɖn i eli.	“They showed the way to the traveller.”
ᠤ᠋᠋ ᠤ᠋᠋ ᠤ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ ? / ma mi mlan abrid ?	“To whom did they show the way?”
ᠤ᠋᠋ ᠤ᠋᠋ ᠤ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ ? / u mi mlan abrid ?	“To whom did they show the way?”

ᐸᓄᐸᓄ ᓄᓴ ᓄᐸᐸᓄᓴ ? / milmi ay immut ?	“When did he die?”
ᐸᓄᐸᓄ ᓄᓴ ᓴᐸᐸᓄᓴ ? / milmi ay tddamt ?	“When did you (plr. fem.) go?”
ᐸᓄᐸᓄ ᓄᓴ ᓴᐸᐸᓄᓴᓴ ? / milmi i ya tmmattimt ?	“When are you (plr. fem.) going to move house?”
ᐸᓄᐸᓄ ᓄᓴ ᐸᓄᓴᓄᓴ ? / milmi a ra d yawᓴ ?	“When will he arrive?”
ᐸᓄᐸᓄ ᓄᓴ ᓴᐸᐸᓄᓴ ? / milmi a ya ᓴᓴᓴᓴ ??	“When will you (plr.) sleep?”

Let it be noted that ᐸᓄᐸᓄ ᓄᓴ / milmi + ay is realized as ᐸᓄᐸᓄ ᓄᓴᓴ / milmi + ag when the verb is conjugated in the third masculine singular person.

ᐸᓄᐸᓄ ᓄᓴ ᓄᐸᐸᓄᓴ ? / [ᐸᓄᐸᓄ ᓄᓴᓴ ᐸᐸᓄᓴ] milmi ag mmut ?	“When did he die?”
---	--------------------

(ii) *Interrogative adverbs of place*

When the question holds on place or location, the interrogative adverb ᐸᓄᓴ / mani “where”, which is usually followed by a preposition, introduces the interrogative sentence. The prepositions that follow ᐸᓄᓴ / mani express one of the following values:

• Location:

ᐸᓄᓴ ᓴᓴᓴᓴᓴ ? / mani g izdy ?	“Where does he live?”
ᐸᓄᓴ ᓴᓴᓴᓴ ᓴᓴᓴᓴ ᓴᓴᓴ ? / mani g illa iyrm nnun ?	“Where is your (plr. masc.) village?”

• direction and movement:

ᐸᓄᓴ ᓴᓴᓴᓴᓴ ? / mani ᓴᓴᓴᓴᓴ ?	“Where are you going?”
ᐸᓄᓴ ᓴᓴᓴᓴ ? / mani s irwl ?	“Where did he flee?”

• Origin:

ᐸᓄᓴ ᓴᓴᓴᓴᓴ ? / mani zg tgid ?	“Where are you from?”
ᐸᓄᓴ ᓴᓴᓴᓴ ? / mani s ckk ?	“Where are you from?”

The interrogative ᐸᓄᓴ / mani can be followed directly by:

- a verb:

᠋ᠴᠣ᠊ᠯᠢ ᠰᠣ᠋ᠭᠠᠨ ? / mani irah ?	“Where did he go?”
᠋ᠴᠣ᠊ᠯᠢ ᠲᠠᠭᠠᠨ ? / mani tllam ?	“Where are you (plr. Masc.) ?”
᠋ᠴᠣ᠊ᠯᠢ ᠲᠤᠭᠤᠰᠤ ? / mani t yufa ?	“Where did he find it?”

- a noun or pronoun:

᠋ᠴᠣ᠊ᠯᠢ ᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨ ? / mani abrid ?	“Where is the way?”
᠋ᠴᠣ᠊ᠯᠢ ᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨ ? / mani s amddakk ^{wl} nnk ?	“Where is your friend?”
᠋ᠴᠣ᠊ᠯᠢ ᠲᠤ ? / mani t ?	“Where is he?”

In general terms, there is a tendency to favour the verbal sentence with the following structure:

᠋ᠴᠣ᠊ᠯᠢ / Mani + (preposition) + verb ᠰᠠᠨᠢ / ili

᠋ᠴᠣ᠊ᠯᠢ ᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨ ? / mani llan lwacun ?	“Where are the children?”
᠋ᠴᠣ᠊ᠯᠢ ᠰᠠᠨᠢ ᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨ ? / mani g illa uyaras ?	“Where is the way?”

We also obtain ᠋ᠴᠣ᠊ᠯᠢᠰᠤ / manza “where” before a noun or pronoun:

᠋ᠴᠣ᠊ᠯᠢᠰᠤ ᠲᠤᠭᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨ ? / manza tarwa nnk ?	“Where are the children?”
᠋ᠴᠣ᠊ᠯᠢᠰᠤ ᠲᠤ ? / manza t ? ?	“Where is he?”
᠋ᠴᠣ᠊ᠯᠢᠰᠤ ᠰᠠᠨᠢ ? / manza imi ?	“Where is the entrance?”

(iii) *Interrogative adverbs of manner*

When the inquiry holds on the manner in which something has been done, the main interrogative morphemes deployed are: ᠋ᠴᠣ᠊ᠯᠢᠰᠤ / manik, ᠋ᠴᠣ᠊ᠴᠢᠰᠤ / mamnk, ᠋ᠴᠣ᠊ᠴᠢᠰᠤ / mammk, ᠋ᠴᠣ᠊ᠴᠢᠰᠤ / maka, ᠋ᠴᠣ᠊ᠴᠢᠰᠤ / mimc and ᠋ᠴᠣ᠊ᠴᠢᠰᠤ / manc “how”:

᠋ᠴᠣ᠊ᠯᠢᠰᠤ ᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨ ? / manik ad tskrm ?	“How did you do?”
᠋ᠴᠣ᠊ᠴᠢᠰᠤ ᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨ ? / mamn᠋ᠭᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨ ?	“How are you?”
᠋ᠴᠣ᠊ᠴᠢᠰᠤ ᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨ ? / maka ay tqqid ?	“How are you? (after a misfortune)”
᠋ᠴᠣ᠊ᠴᠢᠰᠤ ᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨ ? / maka ay ya ng ?	“What are we going to do?”

Not unlike the interrogative morphemes of time, interrogative morphemes of manner are followed by ad - ay (or their short forms).

(iv) *Interrogative adverbs of quantity*

The interrogative adverbs of quantity are: mnck / mcha , meta , mcha and mnaw “how much, how many”:

- mnck / meta , mcha / mcha

When these adverbs specify a noun, they are always followed by the genitive preposition in :

$\text{mcha in tmyarin} ?$	“How many women?”
$\text{meta in ixamn} ?$	“How many houses?”
$\text{mnck in watay} ?$	“How much tea?”

When they are followed by a verb, the adverbs of quantity are used along with the topicalizers ad and ay or their variant a :

$\text{mcha ay iqqimn} ?$	“How many remain?”
$\text{mnck ad tmyarin} ?$	“How many did you (plr. masc.) buy?”
$\text{meta ad s tllam} ?$	“How many are you?”

- mnaw / mnaw

The adverb mnaw , which is used only with countable nouns, is not followed by a preposition; yet, it induces the noun that comes right after it to take the construct state form. Agreement in gender also holds between the interrogative morpheme and the noun:

$\text{mnaw wussan} ?$	“How many days?”
$\text{mnawt tmyarin} ?$	“How many women?”

(v) *Interrogative adverbs of cause and reason*

When we want to ask about cause or reason, we resort to the following interrogative adverbs: maxf (reduced forms max // maf), mayar or maymmi (maxmmi) “why”.

The interrogative morpheme 𐎠𐎡𐎴 / max, counter to 𐎠𐎡𐎴 / maf and 𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠 / mayar, is followed by 𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠 / ay llig or one of its variants (𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠 / ay llix or 𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠 / ay lliy).

𐎠𐎡𐎴 𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠 𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠 ? / max ay lliy trwld ?	“Why did you flee?”
𐎠𐎡𐎴 𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠 𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠 ? / max ay llig iffȳ?	“Why did he go out?”
𐎠𐎡𐎴 𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠 ? / maf ur iddi?	“Why didn’t he go?”
𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠 𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠 𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠 ? / mayar tugid ad trahd ?	“Why did you refuse to go?”
𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠 𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠 𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠 ? / mayar tggid ammu ?	“Why are you like this?”

4. The exclamative sentence

An exclamative sentence expresses a strong feeling (surprise, anger, indignation, pleasure, joy, etc.) or a speaker’s emotional judgement on a an event or situation.

𐎠𐎡𐎴 ! / irwl !	“He fled!”
𐎠𐎡𐎴 ! / ddan !	“They went!”
𐎠𐎡𐎴 ! / irza !	“He is broken!”

The make-up of an exclamative sentence is in no way different from the make-up of interrogative and affirmative sentences. The only exception observed between an exclamative sentence and the other afore-mentioned sentences is the use of an exclamative intonation in speaking and an exclamation mark in writing. Orally, an exclamative intonation is realized by lengthening the final vowel.

𐎠𐎡𐎴. / ddan.	(assertion)	“They went.”
𐎠𐎡𐎴 ! / ddan !	(exclamation)	“They went!”
𐎠𐎡𐎴 ? / ddan ?	(question)	“They went?”

Besides intonation, exclamation can also be marked by exclamative morphemes belonging to different classes (interrogative morphemes, indefinite morphemes, interjections).

4.1. Expressing exclamation by intonation

Exclamation may well be expressed by intonation only. When this happens, the structure of the sentence is identical to the affirmative sentence:

ኖኹ ተተ ! / yufa tt !	“He found her!”
ተዋላ ! / tyuda !	“She is beautiful!”
ለ ልጄ ል ! / d amqqrān !	“It / He is big!”
እጄ ል ! / imqqr !	“He is big!”

Some exclamative sentences are made up of a noun phrase whose determiner is a stressed indefinite morpheme:

- ኖላ / ኔላ // **yan** / **ijj** “one (masc.)”, ኖተ / ኔተ // **yat** / **ict** “one (fem.)”

ኖላ ዩኔላ ! / yan ttajin !	“a tagine! = What a tagine!”
ኖተ ተገላ ! / yat tm̥ra !	“a ceremony (marriage)! = What a ceremony!”

- ጽዕ / kra // ር / ca “some, something”

ጽዕ ለገጽ ! / kra n wafulki !	“What a beauty!”
ር / ተገላ ! / ca n taḍfi !	“What sweetness!”

A noun phrase introduced by ፍ / ha may express exclamation if it is uttered with an exclamative intonation accompanied by stress on ፍ / ha.

ፍ ተገላ ! / ha tammara !	“What a pain!”
ፍ ተገላ ! / ha tim̥arin !	“These are really good ladies!”
ፍ ለገጽ ! / han awal !	“It is well said!”

4.2. Exclamation by using exclamative tools

Some morphemes express both interrogation and exclamation (cf. 8.3.2), as set out below:

- ርተ / matta “what”

When reduplication (ex. 1, 2) or expansion (ex. 3) of ርተ / matta is noted, the sentence evokes a positive opinion:

1. ርተ ጽጽረ ርተ ! / matta zzin matta !	“What a beauty!”
--	------------------

2. ራ፡ተ፡ ተርዓዐ፡፱፡፻፲ ራ፡ተ፡ ! / matta tmyriwin matta !	“What beautiful mariages!”
3. ራ፡ተ፡ ፡፻፳፭ ፡፻፵፡ ተ ! / matta ayyis isya t !	“What a beautiful horse he bought!”
4. ራ፡ተ፡ ተራ፡ጼ፡፻፵፡ ፡፳፡ ! / matta tmazirt ad !	“What a (bad) country!”

• ራ፡፡ / **mana** “*what*”

ራ፡፡ ፡፻፳፶፭ ፡፡ ፡፻፲፻፵፡ !
mana umiyis a n uñjir !
“What an intelligent boy!”

• ር፡፻፲ / **min** “*how, how much, how many*”

ር፡፻፲ ፡፻፵፡፡ ር፡፻፲፻፳፡ ! / min imyar memmik !	“(look) How much your son has grown!”
ር፡፻፲ ፡፶፡፡፡ ፡፻፳፡ ፡፶፡፡፡ ! / min yars zi wagra !	“How much property he has!”

• ራ፡፻፲፡ / **Mamnk**, ራ፡፻፲፡ / **manik**, ራ፡፻፲፡ / **mamk** “*how, how much, how many*”

ራ፡፻፲፡ ፡፳፡ ተ፡፻፲፡፶፡፻፲፡ ! / mamnk ad ittikşud !	“How fearful he is!”
ራ፡፻፲፡ ፡፳፡ ፡፻፲፡ ! / mamnk ad yamum !	“How thin he became!”
ራ፡፻፲፡ ፡፻፲፡፡ ፡፶፡፡፡ ፡፡ ! / mamk işbh uyrum a !	“How nice is this bread!”

• ራ፡፻፲፡ / **mayn** “*how, how much, how many*”

ራ፡፻፲፡ ተ፡፻፲፡፶፡፻፲፡ ! / “How quick are you !”
mayn tfsusd !

• ር፡፻፲፡ / **mcta**, ር፡፻፲፡ / **mçal**, ር፡፻፲፡ / **mnck** “*how much / many*”

ር፡፻፲፡ ፡፻፲፡፶፡፻፲፡ ፡፻፲፡ ፡፻፲፡፶፡፻፲፡ ! / mcta d ihllaln ay da ittqqis !	“He says nothing but lies!”
ር፡፻፲፡ ፡፻፲፡፶፡፻፲፡ ! / mçal d adfl !	“A lot of snow!”
ር፡፻፲፡ ፡፻፲፡፶፡፻፲፡ ! / mnck ad lan!	“How big are they!”

When they introduce a non-verbal sentence with a nominal predicate, ር፡፻፲፡ / mcta, ር፡፻፲፡ / mçal and ር፡፻፲፡ / mnck are used with the predication particle

Λ / d. Conversely, when they introduce a verbal sentence, the interrogative adverbs are used with ◦Λ / ad or ◦ζ / ay.

• ◦Λξ / **mani** “where”

◦Λξ 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 ! / “How beautiful were those days!”
mani llan wussan yudanin !

Word repetition may also be used to express exclamation, as is clear in the following examples:

◦𐤁𐤁 ◦Λ ξ𐤁𐤁𐤁 ◦𐤁𐤁 ◦ ! / ass ad igan ass a !	“What a great day!”
◦ ◦𐤁𐤁𐤁, ◦ ◦𐤁𐤁𐤁 ! / a æri, a æri !	“Oh, my happiness!”

Other processes (expressions, words)

ζ𐤁𐤁 ! / yuf !	“That’s for the best!”
𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 ! / hakkak !	(astonishment)
ξ𐤀𐤁𐤁 ◦𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 ! / iryud ak ʔbbi !	“Congratulations!”
𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 ! / wahli !	“By Jove, of course! ”

CHAPTER 9

Complex sentence

A sentence is termed complex when it consists of two or many clauses. Complex sentences bifurcate into three categories: sentences with subordinate clauses, sentences with coordinate clauses and sentences with juxtaposed clauses.

ႰႰႰ ႰႰႰ ႰႰႰ ႰႰ ႰႰႰႰ. / ittu awal lli as tnnid.	“He forgot what you told him”
ႰႰႰ ႰႰႰ ႰႰ ႰႰႰ ? / idda niy ur iddi ?	“Did he go or not?”
ႰႰႰ Ⴐ, ႰႰႰ ႰႰႰႰႰ, ႰႰႰ. / tkcm d, tasi memmis, tffŷ.	“She came in, she took her son, she left.”

The sentences above are complex. This is ascribed to the following reasons: The first contains a subordinate clause (relative clause), the second consists of two coordinated clauses (linked by the coordinator niy “or” (ny is its variant)) and the third has three juxtaposed clauses devoid of any subordination morphemes (conjunctions).

One of the main attributes of the subordination complex sentence is the fact that it is made up of two clauses: an independent clause (main clause) and a dependent clause (subordinate clause); both clause are related to each other via a morpheme or conjunction of subordination. We recognise three categories of subordinate clauses: relative, noun and adverbial clauses.

1. Relative clauses

In general terms, a relative clause functions as an expansion of a precedent noun phrase. The expansion concerns one of the following elements: a subject, a direct object, an indirect object or an adverbial phrase. A relative clause can be linked to a main clause by a relative morpheme or pronoun. Relative clauses bifurcate into two types: relative clauses with antecedents and relative clauses without antecedents.

1.1. Relative pronouns

A relative clause is introduced by one of the following pronouns or morphemes: 𐌆𐌆𐌰 / lli, 𐌆𐌰 / da, 𐌆𐌰 / nna, 𐌆𐌰 / nni and 𐌰 / i. These pronouns share the same syntactic behaviour and have the same distribution:

𐌰𐌆 𐌰𐌆𐌰𐌰 𐌆𐌰𐌆𐌰 𐌆𐌰𐌰 𐌰𐌆 𐌆𐌆𐌰𐌰. / ur iṣhi wawal lli as tnnid.	“What you told him is not right.”
𐌆𐌰𐌆𐌰𐌰 𐌆𐌰𐌰 𐌆𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰 𐌰𐌆𐌰𐌰𐌰 𐌆𐌰𐌰. / tarbat nni tẓrid illis n uma.	“The girl you saw is my niece.”
𐌆𐌰𐌰𐌰 𐌆𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰 𐌆𐌰𐌰 𐌆𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰. / tdda tfruxt nna tẓrid.	“The girl you saw left.”

The relative pronouns presented above share the following characteristics:

a. To the exception of 𐌰 / i, they are optional. In fact, their absence does not affect the grammaticality of the sentence.

𐌆𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰 𐌰𐌆𐌰𐌰𐌰 𐌰𐌆𐌰𐌰𐌰. / afrux irwln igg ^w d.	“The boy who fled was frightened.”
𐌆𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰 𐌆𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰 𐌆𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰. / tdda tfruxt tẓrid.	“The girl you saw left.”
𐌰𐌆 𐌰𐌆𐌰𐌰 𐌆𐌰𐌆𐌰 𐌆𐌆𐌰𐌰. / ur iṣhi wawal tnnid.	“What you said is wrong.”

b. They always obtain at the beginning of a relative clause, just after the antecedent. However, they may well be separated from the antecedent by a specifying morpheme, such as the demonstrative pronouns 𐌰 / a (and its variant 𐌰 / u), 𐌰𐌆 / ann, 𐌰𐌆 / in and 𐌆𐌰 / nni.

𐌆𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰 𐌆𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰. 𐌰𐌆 𐌆𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰 𐌆𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰. / tyuda tnkr̥a ad lli tsyid.	“It is beautiful, this mat you bought.”
𐌰𐌆𐌰𐌰𐌰 𐌆𐌰𐌰 𐌰𐌆𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰 𐌆𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰 𐌆𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰 𐌆𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰. / aḥnjir nni i tẓrid memmis n ultma.	“The boy you saw is my nephew.”
𐌰𐌆𐌰𐌰𐌰 𐌆𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰 𐌆𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰 𐌆𐌰𐌰𐌰𐌰. / iriw ueban nni da tsyid.	“They are large the clothes you bought.”

c. Relative pronouns are invariable: they preserve the same form no matter what the morphological features of the antecedent are:

b. The relative pronoun as a direct object

When the relative pronoun is a direct object, the verb of the relative clause is conjugated and takes the usual inflectional markers that the verb takes in the different themes (*cf.* 5.1.2.a).

<p>ႰႱႱႱႱ ႱႱႱႱႱ ႱႱ ႱႱႱႱ. / iyuda udlis nna tara.</p>	<p>“The book she wrote is interesting.”</p>
<p>ႱႱႱႱႱ ႱႱ ႱႱႱႱ ႱႱႱႱ. / tasyart da zzan tumz.</p>	<p>“The tree they planted held.”</p>
<p>ႱႱႱႱႱ ႱႱႱႱႱ ႱႱႱ ႱႱ ႱႱႱႱ. / icqqa ubrid lla ya tamzm.</p>	<p>“The way you are going to take is difficult.”</p>
<p>ႱႱ ႱႱ ႱႱႱႱႱ ႱႱ ႱႱႱႱ ႱႱႱႱ. / uc as aqrab nni tsya idnnaṭ.</p>	<p>“Give her the bag she bought yesterday.”</p>

c. The relative pronoun as an indirect object

When the relative pronoun is a an indirect object, the relative clause is introduced by the preposition ξ / i “to” followed by the relative pronoun $\square\xi$ / mi or $\text{!}\square\xi$ / umi “that”. The use of the preposition remains optional, as laid out in the following examples:

<p>◦.Ḥ◦:Ḫ (ḡ) ḤḤḤḤ ḤḤ.ḤḤḤ ḤḤḤḤ.</p> <p>afrux (i) mi fkiy iqaridn ifta.</p> <p>“ The boy to whom I have given the money left.”</p>
<p>◦.ḤḤ ḤḤḤḤḤḤ (ḡ) :ḤḤ ḤḤḤḤ ḤḤḤḤḤḤ.</p> <p>rahn ihnjirn (i) umi tucid ttmyat.</p> <p>“ The boys to whom you have given the money left.”</p>

The use of the relative pronouns (lli / li , da / na , nni / i) is possible with mi “to which”:

᠔ᠬᠣᠰᠤ ᠮᠢ ᠸᠡ ᠬᠢᠴᠢᠳᠦ ᠶ᠋ᚩᠨᠲᠦᠭᠦᠨ.
afɾux lli mi fkiy iqaɾiɖn ifta.
“The boy to whom I have given the money left.”

d. The relative pronoun as an object of a preposition other than ξ/i

Two scenarios are observed when the relative pronoun is an object of a preposition other than ξ / i “to”:

- The relative clause is introduced by a preposition followed by the relative pronoun $\text{C}\xi / \text{mi}$ (as in the case of the relative pronoun that refers to an indirect object);

- the relative pronoun is followed by a preposition.

The sequences *preposition + $\text{C}\xi / \text{mi}$* and *relative pronoun + preposition* form what we might call a prepositional relative or a complex relative.

(i) *Preposition + $\text{C}\xi / \text{mi}$*

$\text{ተ.ለ.ሰ.ወ.ተ. ጸ. ር. ሂ. ለ. ሃ. ተ.ጸ.ጸ.ጸ.} /$ taddart g mi izdy taggug.	“The house where he lives is far.”
$\text{ተ.ር.ለ.ከ.ተ. ሃ.ዐ. ር. ሂ.ዐ. ለ. ተ.ዐ.ዐ. ለ.} /$ tamdint yr mi irah tṣbh.	“The city where he is going to live is beautiful.”
$\text{፡ዐ. ሰ.ዐ.ዐ.ከ. ር.ለ.ሰ. ሃ.ዐ. ር. ሂ. ለ.} /$ ur nssin mddn yur mi idda.	“We do not know the people to whom he paid a visit.”
$\text{ተ.ፍ. ለ. ተ.ፍ.ዐ.ተ. ጸ.ጸ. ር. ለ. ሂ.ዐ.ዐ.} /$ tcna tmurt zg mi d yusa.	“The country from which he came is beautiful.”
$\text{ተ.ፍ.ፈ.ፈ. ተ.ፍ.ዐ.ዐ.ተ. ጸ.ጸ. ር. ሂ.ዐ.ዐ.ዐ.} /$ tcqqa tmslayt xf mi isawal.	“The issue he is talking about is delicate.”
$\text{፡ዐ. ሰ.ዐ.ዐ.ከ. ሂ.ዐ.ዐ. ለ. ጸ.ለ. ር. ሂ.ዐ. ለ.} /$ ur nssin iwdan agd mi irah.	“We do not know the people he went with.”
$\text{፤.ፍ.ፈ.ፈ.ዐ. ፡ጸ.ፍ.ዐ. ዐ. ር. ተ. ሂ.ዐ.ተ.} /$ imqgur uzru s mi t yut.	“The stone with which he hit him is big.”

(ii) *Relative pronoun + preposition*

In general terms, the relative clause is introduced by a relative pronoun followed by a preposition; the nature of the latter depends on the verb used.

$\text{፤.ፍ.ዐ. ዐ.ዐ.፤፤፤ዐ. ሰ. ጸ.ጸ. ሂ.ዐ.ዐ.፡ለ.} /$ icwa wayyis nna xf issuda.	“The horse on which he is riding is beautiful.”
$\text{ተ.ር.ለ.ከ.ተ. ሰ.፤ ጸ.፤ ለ. ሂ.ዐ.ዐ. ተ.ጸ.ጸ.ጸ.} /$ tamdint nni zi d yusa taggug.	“The city from which he came is far.”
$\text{ዐ.፡ ሰ.፤ ጸ. ሂ.፤፤ ሂ.፤፤ ለ.ዐ.} /$ anu lli g idr idra.	“The well in which he fell is deep.”

1.3. Relative clauses without antecedents

A relative clause without antecedent is a clause whose relative pronoun is devoid of an overt nominal antecedent:

ሃዐ ሄ ሀ.ዘዘ፤ ሄዘዘሃ ! / yr i walli iffyn !	“Call the one who went out!”
ዐፀ ሀዘ፤ ዘዘ፤ ተዐ፤ ! / asi win lli trid !	“Take the one you want!”

In the examples presented above, the relative clauses ሀ.ዘዘ፤ ሄዘዘሃ / walli iffyn and ሀዘ፤ ዘዘ፤ ተዐ፤ / win lli trit are not expansions of a nominal antecedent. They are introduced by ሀ.ዘዘ፤ / walli and ሀዘ፤ / win which are made up of demonstrative ሀ. / wa and ሀዘ፤ / wi. In this sort of relative clauses, we use other elements to support the relative pronoun; these elements are demonstrative pronouns which are variable in gender and number. The combination of demonstrative pronouns and relative pronouns brings about the following paradigms:

- Demonstrative pronouns + the relative pronoun ዘዘ፤ / lli

ሀ.ዘዘ፤ / walli	“the one (masc.) who”
ተ.ዘዘ፤ / talli	“the one (fem.) who”
ሀዘዘ፤ / willi	“those (masc.) who”
ተዘዘ፤ / tilli	“those (fem.) who”

- Demonstrative pronouns + the relative pronoun ሊ. / da

ሀ.ሊ. / wada	“the one (masc.) who”
ተ.ሊ. / tada	“the one (fem.) who”
ሀዘሊ. / wida	“those (masc.) who”
ተዘሊ. / tida	“those (fem.) who”

- Demonstrative pronouns + the relative pronoun ለ. / nna

ሀ.ለ. / ሀለ. // wanna / wnna	“the one (masc.) who”
ተ.ለ. / ተለ. // tanna / tnna	“the one (fem.) who”
ሀዘለ. / winna	“those (masc.) who”
ተዘለ. / tinna	“those (fem.) who”

- Demonstrative pronouns + the relative pronoun ለዘ፤ / nni

ሀ.ለዘ፤ / ሀለዘ፤ // wanni / wnni	“the one (masc.) who”
ተ.ለዘ፤ / ተለዘ፤ // tanni / tnni	“the one (fem.) who”
ሀዘለዘ፤ / winni	“those (masc.) who”

by an interrogative morpheme and modal noun clauses introduced by ɔΛ / ad.

2.1. The morphemes ξ⊙ / is, ɔZ⊙ / aqqa and ɔΛ / ad

a. The morpheme ξ⊙ / is

The morpheme or subordinator ξ⊙ / is has the following features:

- It is morphologically invariable and keeps the same form irrespective of the context in which it is employed.
- It appears at the beginning of a noun clause:

llɔl ξ⊙ ξ⊙llɔl. / nnan is irwl. “They thought he fled away.”

- If the noun clause includes direct and indirect personal pronouns or the orientation particles Λ / d and ll / nn, the pronouns and particles are placed in a preverbal position immediately after ξ⊙ / is.

ξ⊙⊙l ξ⊙ ɔ⊙ +l ɣ%⊙. / issn is as tn yuca.	“He knows that he has given them to him.”
ξɣ.ɔ ξ⊙ Λ ΛΛ. / iyal is d ddan.	“He thought they have come (over here).”

- ξ⊙ / is can introduce a declarative noun clause as much as it can introduce an indirect interrogative noun clause:

⊙ɔɔɣ ξ⊙ ξ+⊙. / slly is itahl.	“I have heard he got married.”
⊙Z⊙. ξ⊙ ɣΛ. ! / sqsa is edan !	“Ask if they have left or not!”

ξ⊙ / is, in the second sentence, behaves as an interrogative morpheme that introduces an interrogative noun clause. In fact, it is the meaning of the verb of the main clause that determines the value of ξ⊙ / is. The verb ⊙Z⊙. / sqsa of the main clause shows that we are dealing with a question.

- ξ⊙ / is, whether used in a declarative or interrogative noun phrase, can introduce a subordinate clause devoid of a verb predicate:

llξɣ ξ⊙ ɔ⊙ ɣ%⊙⊙ ξ⊙ξ⊙. / “I thought he did not have any
nniy is ur yurs icirran. children.”

- When the noun clause is a yes / no indirect interrogative clause, the clause may also be introduced by ɔ. / ma “if”:

ዐጂዞ ል ዐፀዞ ር. ለ ዘፎፎ፡ፍ ጸ ለ ሃጸጋዘገ. / “I want to know if it is
riy ad ssny ma d fītuc i d yiwlñ. Fettouch who got married.”

- When the interrogative noun clause is partial. Put in another way, when the question holds on one of the constituents of the subordinate clause, the latter is introduced by an interrogative morpheme depending on the grammatical function of the element on which the question holds:

ፀፂፀ. ር. ዐ ጸ ለ ለ. ! / sqsa ma ay iddan !	“Ask who left!”
ተፀፂፀ. ፡ፍ ጸ ፍ. ! ተተርፍ. / tsqsa umi ucan ttmyat	“She wants to know to whom they gave the money.”
ፀፂፀ. ር፳፻፭ ዐ ጸ ዘዘዞ ! / sqsa milmi ay ffyn !	“Ask when they left!”

b. The morpheme ፀፂፀ. / aqqa

As a subordinator, ፀፂፀ. / aqqa “that” may equally introduce the declarative noun phrase:

ፀ፳፻ ፀፂፀ. ል ጸ ለዘ. / sliy aqqa ad idwl.	“I heard he will be back.”
፳፻. ለርለ ፀፂፀ. ጸ፳ላ ላ ላ. / inna ḥmd aqqa iwdan raḥn.	“Ahmed said that the people went.”

Unlike ጸፀ / is, the morpheme ፀፂፀ. / aqqa attracts neither personal pronouns (direct and indirect object pronouns) nor orientation particles to a preverbal position.

ፀፀዞ ፀፂፀ. ጸ፳ፍ. ፀ. / “I know that he has given
ssny aqqa iwca as t. it to him.”

The declarative noun phrase may obtain without an introducing morpheme:

፳፻፬ ጸፀፍ. / iḥr ihrc.	“He looks sick.”
፻፳፻ ጸ ለ ለ. / nniy idda.	“I thought he went.”

c. The morpheme ል / ad

- ል / ad is invariable and appears at the beginning of a noun clause:

፻፳፻ ፀ. ል ጸ፳፭ ለ. ጸ፳፳፻፬. “I told him to open the door.”
nniy as ad iṛzm taggurt.

- It has a modal value and expresses different semantic nuances such as contingency, injunction and conviction depending on the meaning of the verb of the main clause:

[illegible]

- Λ / ad is, more often than not, followed by a verb in the aorist form; the imperfective form is also frequently encountered:

<p> ξχθθ ολ ξττλλζ λοο θοθοθ./ ixss ad itddu dar babas. </p>	<p> “It is necessary for him to always visit his father.” </p>
--	---

- The use of **oΛ / ad** is obligatory:

<p> $\Sigma \odot \odot \circ \wedge \Sigma \odot \circ \sqcup \odot \odot \vdash \sqsubset \circ \times \Sigma \Psi \vdash$. / issn ad isawl s tmaziyt. </p>	<p>“He knows how to speak (in) Amazigh.”</p>
<p> $\ast \Sigma \odot \odot \odot \Sigma \odot \circ \sqcup \odot \odot \vdash \sqsubset \circ \times \Sigma \Psi \vdash$. / \ast issn isawl s tmaziyt. </p>	<p>“He knows how to speak (in) Amazigh.”</p>

The second example is ungrammatical due to the absence of $\circ\Lambda$ / ad as a subordinator that introduces the noun clause.

- Not unlike the subordinator $\xi \odot$ / is, $\circ \wedge$ / ad attracts orientation particles as well as personal pronouns that function as verb objects:

𐤅𐤓 𐤅 𐤀𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤐𐤕 𐤐𐤕𐤓 𐤔𐤕𐤕 “Tell Hemmou to give them the
𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤓𐤓 i 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 ad asn money!”
yuc ttmnyat

2.2. Verbs that introduce noun clauses

A verb, belonging to this category, takes a noun clause as its complement.

- Declarative noun clauses introduced by $\Xi\odot$ / is and $\circ\mathbb{Z}\mathbb{Z}\circ$ / akka

The verbs, under this category, denote an assertion (ᐱᐱ / ini “to say”, ᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱ // ssn / isin “to know” ...), perception (ᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱ, ᐱᐱᐱ / elu “to see”, ᐱᐱᐱ / annay, ᐱᐱᐱᐱ / smaqqi, ᐱᐱᐱ / ɾæa “to watch”, ᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱᐱ // rwus / rwis, ᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱ “to appear”, ᐱᐱᐱ / sll, ᐱᐱᐱᐱ / sfld, ᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ssyd “to hear”, ᐱᐱ / ml “to show”), an opinion (ᐱᐱᐱ / ɣal “to believe”), cognition (ᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ttu “to forget”) and doubt (ᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱᐱ // ckku / ckka “to doubt”), among other values.

- Interrogative noun clauses

The verbs that introduce interrogative noun clauses are verbs that express or imply a question. Of prime importance among these verbs, there is ᐱᐱᐱᐱ / sqsa “ask”, ᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱ, ᐱᐱᐱᐱ / elu and ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ / smaqqi “to see”.

- Modal noun clauses with ᐱᐱ / ad

The verbs of the main clause generally express an action of virtual nature (ᐱᐱᐱ / iri “to want”), a future action (ᐱᐱᐱᐱ / qawl “to promise”, ᐱᐱᐱ / ᐱᐱᐱ “to guarantee”), a feeling (ᐱᐱᐱᐱ / gg^wd, ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ikᐱᐱ “to fear, to be scared”) or an obligation (ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ixss, ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ifukk, ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ / ilazm, ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ / iqqan “to be necessary”).

2.3. The grammatical function of a noun clause

More often than not, noun clauses assume the function of a direct object of the verb of the main clause. They might also function as subjects or noun complements.

- Subject function: This function is met by a number of verbs that are conjugated in the third singular person and that could be qualified as impersonal verbs.

ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ. / irwas is iɾɯm.	“He seems to be ill.”
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ. / ixss ad ikrz igr nns.	“He has to till his field.”
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ. / ilazm ad yazn idrimn i babas.	“He has to send the money to his father.”

- Noun complement function: very few nouns accept the noun clause to be their complement.

𐌺𐌱𐌺𐌿 𐌱 𐌹𐌺𐌶𐌰𐌺 𐌺𐌹 𐌺𐌴𐌹𐌹 𐌸𐌶𐌶𐌹𐌸. iwiŷ d laxbar is irwl muḥnd.	“I have come to know that Muhnd has fled.”
--	---

3. Topicalized sentences

A topicalized sentence is characterised by highlighting or emphasising one of the constituents of the sentence through a whole range of appropriate syntactic processes. Topicalization obtains by the movement of the topicalized element to the beginning of a sentence coupled with the use of the topicalizing morpheme 𐌱 / ad or 𐌶 / ay “it is ... that / which”. These morphemes follow immediately the highlighted element.

3.1. Topicalization morphemes

The topicalization morphemes are 𐌱 / ad, 𐌶 / ay and 𐌺 / i. When adjacent to some vowels, 𐌶 / ay may exhibit some phonetic alterations. 𐌱 / ad, 𐌶 / ay and 𐌺 / i have the same features and are employed in the same context, in the sense that they follow immediately the topicalized constituent. Among their most prominent attributes, we may well mention:

- 𐌱 / ad, 𐌶 / ay and 𐌺 / i are invariable. Regardless of the gender and number of the topicalized element, they keep the same form:

𐌴𐌶𐌶𐌹𐌸 𐌱 𐌺𐌹𐌹𐌹𐌿. / argaz ad iffŷn.	“(He is) the man who got out.”
𐌴𐌶𐌶𐌹𐌸 𐌶 𐌺𐌹𐌹𐌹𐌿. / argazn ay iffŷn.	“(They are) the men who got out.”
𐌲𐌺𐌶𐌿𐌴𐌹𐌸 𐌺 𐌺𐌹𐌹𐌹𐌿. / timŷarin i iffŷn..	“(They are) the women who got out.”

However, they may undergo some phonetic modifications. 𐌱 / ad, for instance, is realised as 𐌴 / a (reduced form) before a vowel.

𐌴𐌺𐌹𐌹 𐌱 𐌺𐌶𐌶𐌹. / aḍil ad icca. [aḍil ay icca]	“It is grapes that he ate.”
--	-----------------------------

As for 𐌶 / ay, it is pronounced 𐌶𐌶 / ag, 𐌺𐌶 / ig or 𐌶𐌶𐌶 / ayg before a verb that is conjugated in the third masculine singular person (i.e. the verb is introduced by the inflectional marker 𐌺- / i-), or before a verb in the participial form.

ተ.ርር፤ርተ ዕኖ ፻ዐ. ፡ር፡፻፫፤. / tammemt ay ira umuḍin [ተ.ርርተ ዕጸ ዐ. ፡ር፡፻፫፤]	“It is honey that the ill person wants.”
ተ.ጼሊዕተ ዕኖ ፻ጼጼ. / tazdayt ay izza [ተ.ጼሊዕተ ዕኖጸ / ፻ጸ.ጸ ጼጼ.]	“It is a palm tree that he planted.”
ተ.ዘዐ፡ጸተ ዐ. ዕኖ ፻፸፸፻፺፯. / tafruxt a ay issiwlñ [ተ.ዘዐ፡ጸተ. ዕጸ ፸፸፻፺፯]	“It is this girl who spoke.”

- Not unlike preverbal particles or interrogative and relative pronouns, ዐሊ / ad, ዕኖ / ay and ፻ / i attract both the direct / indirect object personal pronouns of the verb and the space orientation particles to a preverbal position:

፻ዘጼ. ዐ፸ ዐ.ዘ፻ጸ. / ifka as ajjig	“He gave her a flower.”
ዐ.ዘ፻ጸ ዐሊ ዐ፸ ፻ዘጼ. / ajjig ad as ifka	“It is a flower that he gave her.”
፻፸፸. ለ ጼ፻ ፡ዘ፻፸ዐ. / yusa d zi ujdir	“He came back from Ajdir.”
ዐ.ዘ፻፸ዐ ዕኖ ጼ፻ ለ ፻፸፸. / ajdir ay zi d yusa	“It is from Ajdir that he came.”

3.2. Topicalized constituents

To the exception of verbs, all the elements of a sentence can be topicalized by means of ዐሊ / ad, ዕኖ / ay and ፻ / i.

a. Topicalization of the subject

፻፸ዐ. ፡ርሊሊዐጸጸ፯ ፻፲፡ ዕኖ፻፻፸ ፻ ፡ር፡ርር፻፸፸. isyā umddakk ^{wl} inu ayyis i memmis. “My friend bought a horse to his son.”
ዐ.ርሊሊዐጸጸ፯ ፻፲፡ ዐሊ ፻፸ዐ.፤ ዕኖ፻፻፸ ፻ ፡ር፡ርር፻፸፸. amddakk ^{wl} inu ad isyan ayyis i memmis. “It is my friend who bought a horse to his son.”
፲ተ. ዕኖ ፻፲፡፤ ፻ጼ፯.፤ ዐሊ. ntta ay innan izlan ad. “It is he who told these poems.”

When the topicalized element is a subject, the verb appears in the participial form specified by the addition of the discontinuous inflectional marker 𐤀 ... 𐤀 / i ... n to the verb, hence the forms 𐤀𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 / isyan “having bought” and 𐤀𐤕𐤕𐤕 / innan “having told” in the two examples mentioned above. If the topicalized constituent has a function other than a subject, the verb appears in a conjugated form (with agreement markers).

b. Topicalization of the direct object

𐤀𐤔𐤔𐤔𐤕 𐤀𐤔 𐤔𐤕𐤕. 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤔 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕. / ayyis ay isya ḥmmu i memmis.	“It is a horse that Hemmou bought for his son.”
𐤀𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤀𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤔 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤀. / adlis ad fkan i unlmad a.	“It is a book that they gave to this pupil.”

c. Topicalization of the indirect object

Two scenarios are observed when the topicalized constituent is an indirect object:

- Movement of the prepositional phrase to the beginning of the sentence (dative preposition and its object) followed by a topicalization morpheme and the relative pronoun 𐤕𐤔 / mi or 𐤕𐤔 / umi “to whom”:

𐤔𐤕𐤕. 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤀𐤔𐤔𐤕 𐤔 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕. / isya ḥmmu ayyis i memmis.	“Hemmou bought a horse for his son.”
𐤔 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤀𐤔 𐤕𐤔 𐤔𐤕𐤕. 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤀𐤔𐤔𐤕. / i memmis ay mi isya ḥmmu ayyis.	“It is for his son that Hemmou bought a horse.”
𐤔 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤔 𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤔𐤕𐤕𐤕. 𐤕𐤔𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕. / i wadjar ins i umi iwca tisura.	“It is to his neighbour that he gave the keys.”

- Movement of the indirect object without the preposition 𐤔 / i “to” that precedes it followed by the topicalization morpheme 𐤕𐤔 / mi or 𐤕𐤔 / umi “to whom”:

𐤔𐤕𐤕. 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤀𐤔𐤔𐤕 𐤔 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕. / isya urgaz ad ayyis i memmis.	“This man bought a horse for his son.”
𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤀𐤕 𐤕𐤔 𐤔𐤕𐤕. 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤀𐤕 𐤀𐤔𐤔𐤕 / memmis ad mi isya urgaz ad ayyis.	“It is for his son that this man bought a horse.”
𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤀𐤔 𐤕𐤔 𐤔𐤕𐤕. 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 𐤀𐤕 𐤀𐤔𐤔𐤕 / memmis ay mi isya urgaz ad ayyis.	“It is for his son that this man bought a horse.”

d. Topicalization of the object of a preposition

The point of interest here is the object of a preposition other than ξ / i “to”, such as ሃዐ / yr, ሎዐ / dar, ዐ / s, ዐጸ / ag and ጸጸ / zg, among others (cf. 6.1). The object of a preposition, not unlike the indirect object, appears at the beginning of the sentence preceded by the preposition and followed by a topicalization morpheme along with the rest of the sentence.

$\text{ዐ ጸጸዐ ላይ ተገኝቷል} /$ s uzru ay t iqqis.	“It is with a stone that he hit him.”
$\text{ዐጸ ሳተርዐ ላይ ጀዐሉ} /$ ag ultmas ay irah.	“It is with his sister that he went.”
$\text{ጸ ተርእኝተ ላ ጸ ጸለዝ} /$ g tmdint ad g zdyn.	“It is in the city that they live.”
$\text{ሎዐ ዑዑዐ ላ ዐ ጀለሎ} /$ dar babas ad s idda.	“It is to his father’s home that he went.”

The object of a preposition may well surface at the beginning of a sentence followed by a topicalization morpheme and the preposition.

$\text{ዐዢዐ ላ ዐ ተጸደዐ} /$ afus ay s t ikks.	“It is with his hand that he removed it.”
$\text{ዑዑዐ ላ ሎዐ ጀለሎ} /$ babas ad dar idda..	“It is to his father’s home that he went.”
$\text{ላተርዐ ጀ ሃዐ ጀገደ} /$ aytmas i yur iqqim.	“It is in his brothers’ house that he stays.”

e. Topicalization of other constituents

In addition to the already treated elements that fill a grammatical function in the sentence, a number of other constituents may equally be topicalized, such as quality nouns, adverbs and noun clauses.

- Topicalization of quality nouns

$\text{ዐጸጸዐ ላ ጀጸ ዑተዐ ለ ዢደር} /$ azgg ^w ay ay iga ueban n faḍma.	“Red are the clothes of Fadma.”
$\text{ዐርዘዐ ላ ጀጸ ዐይኛዐ ለ ረርር} /$ amlal ad iga ayyis n ḥmmu.	“White is Hemmou’s horse.”

In the above examples, the quality nouns ዐጸጸዐ ላ / azgg^way and ዐርዘዐ ላ / amllal, which are colour nouns, are moved to the beginning of the sentence

and are followed by the morpheme ለ / ad or ዓ / ay to serve topicalization ends.

- Topicalization of adverbs

ጸይበይ ዓ ተዓሃይ ድርጅት ማግኘት ለገደቡ / iḍnnaṭ ay tsya ṭuca asafar.	“It is yesterday that Toucha bought the drugs.”
ጸይገሰ ለ ለ ምርጫ ምርጫ / iḍgam ad d yucka yiws.	“It is yesterday that his / her son came.”
ጸደቀ ዓ ተዘዘረ / zikk ay tffy.	It is early in the morning when she went out.”

- Topicalization of noun clauses

The examples below show how a noun clause can be highlighted:

ለ ማንም ተወጥሶ ለሰውነት ዓ ጸዕኑ ጸዕኑ። / ad as tarit tabrat ay ira ibbam. “That you write a letter to him is what your father wants.”
ለ ተርፎ ጸደቀኝ ለ ምርጫ ለ ሰውነት ለ ሰውነት / ad tucd idlism i umḥḍar ad tra faḍma. “That you give the books to the pupil is what Fadma wants.”

3.3. The use of ለ / d before the topicalized constituent

In a topicalized structure, the topicalized noun (or its equivalent) may well be preceded by the predication morpheme ለ / d “it is”. When such a scenario holds, the addition of the predication morpheme ለ / d yields the following structure (ለ) / (d) ... ለ / ad or ዓ / ay ...:

(ለ) ተጠንቅቶ ዓ ጸዕኑ ለገደቡ / (d) tmnyat ay ira uḥnjir.	“Money is what the child needs.”
(ለ) ለገደቡ ለ ሰውነት ለ ሰውነት / (d) eli i iṭran tabrat.	“It is Ali who read the letter.”
(ለ) ለገደቡ ለ ሰውነት ለ ሰውነት / (d) azgg ^w ay ad iga ugartil.	“Red is the mat.”

A noun clause can be topicalized by ለ / d:

ለ ጸዕኑ ለ ሰውነት ለ ሰውነት / d is as ifka tumzin. “It is the fact that he gave her barley.”
--

Predicator Λ / d becomes mandatory after the negator ur / “not” and the interrogative morphemes is and ma “is he / she / it, are we / you / they?” when the latters precede a topicalized nominal (or its variant) or a noun clause:

$\text{ur d baba ay d yusin.}$ / $\text{ur d baba ay d yusin.}$	“It is not my father who came.”
$\text{is d ntta i d yusin ?}$ / $\text{is d ntta i d yusin ?}$	“Is it he who came?”
$\text{ma d ntta ad iyrān tabrat ?}$ / $\text{ma d ntta ad iyrān tabrat ?}$	“”Is it he who read the letter?”
$\text{ur d is icci astci.}$ / $\text{ur d is icci astci.}$	“It is not the fact that he ate the poison.”

4. Adverbial clauses

Another category of complex sentences includes an independent main clause and a subordinate clause introduced by a conjunction of subordination. These subordinate clauses are termed adverbial clauses. Counter to a noun clause or a relative clause, an adverbial clause cannot be substituted by a noun phrase nor modify it. It can, nonetheless, replace adverbial prepositional phrases. Its role is to show the conditions in which the verb action has been carried out.

Each subordinator that introduces an adverbial clause expresses a specific semantic value. Depending on the semantic values they imply, adverbial clauses are divided into a number of categories: adverbial clauses of time, cause, goal, opposition, condition, consequence, comparison and manner.

$\text{la nttazzal ħuma ad nlkm zikk.}$ / $\text{la nttazzal ħuma ad nlkm zikk.}$
--

“We are hurrying up to arrive early.”

In the example above, it is the subordinator ħuma / “so as to, so that” that introduces the subordinate clause ad nlkm zik / in the main clause la nttazzal . In semantic terms, the central thrust of an adverbial clause is to modify the action expressed by the verb of the main clause.

From a morphological standpoint, subordinators bifurcate into two categories: simple subordinate conjunctions which are introduced by single

subordinating conjunctions, like $\square\circ\mathbb{C}\circ$ / maca “but”, $\mathbb{K}\circ$ / ku “as long as”, $\mathbb{Y}\circ\odot$ / yas “as soon as”, $\mathbb{X}\mathbb{Y}$ / iy “if, only”, $\circ\mathbb{C}\mathbb{K}\circ$ / acku “because” and $\mathbb{H}\circ\wedge$ / fad “so as to” among others, and complex subordinate conjunctions, consisting of more than one element, like $\odot\mathbb{X}\mathbb{I}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{H}\square\circ$ / s gnnif ma “after ...” and $\circ\wedge\circ\odot\mathbb{X}\mathbb{C}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{H}$ [$\circ\sqcup\mathbb{O}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{C}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{H}$] / ad ur imil [awrimil] “it is possible that, eventually”.

Traditionally, the morphemes of subordination are classified along logical categories: cause, goal, hypothesis, time, ... etc. In some contexts, the nuances between many semantic values are not easily determined; the same subordinator may well have more than one semantic value.

Furthermore, some subordinators are used with one verbal theme only while others freely tolerate being followed by verbs conjugated in different themes. $\circ\wedge$ / ad, for instance, does not set any restriction on the theme of the verb that follows it; this means that the verb that comes after $\circ\wedge$ / ad can surface in the aorist theme as much as it can surface in the perfective and imperfective themes.

At the syntactic level, some subordinating conjunctions trigger the attraction of affixal pronouns (DO and IO) and space orientation particles (\wedge / d and \mathbb{I} / n) to a preverbal position.

$\mathbb{C}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{H}\wedge\circ\odot\mathbb{X}\mathbb{Y}\mathbb{X}\odot\mathbb{Z}\mathbb{O}\mathbb{Z}\mathbb{O}\mathbb{X}\circ\mathbb{H}\mathbb{X}$. / mixf d usiy isqrqb xafi.	“As soon as I arrived, He knocked at the door.”
$\mathbb{X}\odot\circ\mathbb{C}\mathbb{C}\mathbb{H}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{X}\circ\odot\circ\mathbb{C}\circ\mathbb{I}\circ\mathbb{C}\circ\mathbb{O}\mathbb{H}\odot$. / isum llig as ucan amur nns.	“He kept quiet when they gave him his share.”
$\mathbb{Y}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{K}\mathbb{H}\mathbb{X} + \mathbb{K}\mathbb{Q}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{Y}$, $\odot\odot\mathbb{Y}\square\circ\circ\wedge$ $\mathbb{X}\mathbb{H}\circ\mathbb{I}$. / yik lli t zriy, ssny ma ad illan.	“As soon as I saw him, I knew what happened.”

In the examples presented above, the attraction of the orientation particle \wedge / d and the pronouns $\circ\odot +$ / as t (DO and IO) to a preverbal position is due to the presence of the morphemes $\mathbb{C}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{H}$ / mixf “as soon as”, $\mathbb{H}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{X}$ / llig “when” and $\mathbb{Y}\mathbb{X}\mathbb{K}\mathbb{H}\mathbb{X}$ ($\mathbb{C}\mathbb{K}\mathbb{H}\mathbb{X}$) / yik lli (mk lli) “as soon as”.

4.1. Adverb clauses of time

This category of clauses includes the adverb clauses introduced by conjunctions that convey different temporal shades of meaning. In general terms, the action expressed by the verb of the main clause takes place before, during or after the action of the subordinate clause, reflecting, thereby, the

putative relationship of simultaneity, anteriority and posteriority observed between the main and the subordinate clauses.

a. Relationship of simultaneity

We speak of simultaneity when the two actions expressed by the verbs of the two clauses, the main and the subordinate, take place at the same time. The morphemes expressing this value are:

⌘⌚, ⌘⌘⌘⌘, ⌘⌘⌘⌚ ⌚ / umi, adday, ass mi	“when.”
⌘⌘, ⌘⌘⌘ / ku, kud	“as long as, while”
⌚⌘⌘⌘ / maḥd	“as”
⌘⌘⌘⌘⌘ / kudnna	“when, everytime”
⌚⌘⌘⌘ (⌚⌘⌘) / mixf (mix)	“when, while, as soon as”
⌘⌘⌘⌘ / llig	“when”
⌘⌘⌚, ⌘⌘⌘⌘⌘⌘ // sgma, sgg ^w is	“since”

The morphemes ʘᵛᵛ / umi, ʘᵛᵛ ᵛᵛ / ass mi, ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ / kudnna, ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ / mixf (mix) and ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ (ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ) / llig (lliḡ) are used not only with the perfective and imperfective themes but also with the aorist theme if the verb is preceded by ʘᵛ / ad (or one of its variants). With the morphemes ᵛᵛᵛᵛ / ᵛᵛᵛᵛ // ku / kud, the verbs of the main and subordinate clauses obtain in the imperfective form. With ʘᵛᵛᵛᵛ / sgma, ʘᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ / sgg^wis, the verb takes the perfective form. As for ʘᵛᵛᵛᵛ / adday, the verb that follows this conjunction is always conjugated in the aorist form.

<p>ᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ. / ad rahy umi ya d yas.</p>	<p>“I will go as soon as he arrives.”</p>
<p>ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ. / ddiy umi d ilkm.</p>	<p>“I went when he arrived.”</p>
<p>ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ. / ggury umi d ittas.</p>	<p>“I (usually) leave when he arrives.”</p>
<p>ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ. / lliy ar zzigizn ar sawaln.</p>	<p>“While walking, they are speaking.”</p>
<p>ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ. / kudnna idda tmunt dids.</p>	<p>“When he leaves, you will keep him company.”</p>
<p>ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ. / ass mi ira ad iddu, uc as ttmyat.</p>	<p>“The day when he decides to leave, give him the money.”</p>

4.2. Adverb clauses of purpose

These adverb clauses are introduced by morphemes that express the goal of the action expressed by the verb of the main clause. The subordinators used to convey this meaning are: $\angle\sqsubset\circ$ ($\angle\% \sqsubset\circ$) / $\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{a}$ ($\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{a}$), $\mathfrak{t}\circ\mathfrak{H}\circ$ / $\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{f}\mathfrak{a}$, $\circ\mathfrak{K}\circ$ / $\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{k}\mathfrak{a}$, $\mathfrak{H}\circ\mathfrak{A}$ / $\mathfrak{f}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{d}$ and $\Theta\circ\mathfrak{C}$ / $\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{c}$ “so as to, so that”. They are used only with verbs conjugated in the aorist form (if preceded by $\circ\mathfrak{A}$ / $\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{d}$ or one of its variants) or in the imperfective form.

<p>ᠳᠤᠰᠤᠯᠠᠭ ᠤᠳ ᠠᠨ ᠰᠢᠨᠠ ᠠ ᠤ᠋᠋ᠠᠨᠤᠳ ᠶᠣ ᠰᠡᠭᠡᠰᠡᠨ. / ssiwl as ḥma ad imun d ultmas vȳr uḍbib.</p>	<p>“Tell him to take his sister to the doctor.”</p>
<p>ᠳᠤᠰᠤᠯᠠᠭ ᠤᠳ ᠲᠤᠬᠤ ᠰᠡᠲᠠᠭᠠᠨ ᠶ ᠶᠰᠡ ! / ssiwl as tafa ur ittddu g yiḍ !</p>	<p>“Tell him not to go at night !”</p>
<p>ᠬᠠᠨ ᠤᠳ ᠤᠴᠣᠨ ᠤᠳ ᠬᠤᠠ ᠠ ᠰᠡᠬᠣᠳ. / fkan as amur nns fad ad ifss.</p>	<p>“They gave him his share so that he keeps quiet.”</p>
<p>ᠰᠶᠣᠨ ᠤᠳ ᠤᠰᠤ ᠳᠤᠰᠤᠨ ᠰᠤᠴᠣᠳ ᠤᠳ. / iyra asn aka smunn imassn nnsn.</p>	<p>“He asked them to gather their things.”</p>

4.3. Adverb clauses of cause

Adverb clauses of cause are introduced by conjunctions expressing the reason behind the action undertaken by the verb of the main clause. The conjunctions that serve this function are: ᑭᑭᑭ / *minzi*, ᑭᑭᑭ / *acku*, ᑭᑭᑭ / *umi* and ᑭᑭᑭ / *sg ma* “because”. These conjunctions are employed with verbs in the aorist form preceded by the preverbal particle ᑭᑭᑭ / *ad* (or one of its variants); they are also used with verbs conjugated in the perfective and imperfective forms.

<p>፪፻፭፻፳ ጸ ተ.ለ.ላ.ዐተ ር፭፻፳፭ ዓ.ለ ለ ሃዕዓ፭ ዓ.ፀ ፻፲፱፻፷፯.</p> <p>qqimy g taddart minzi ad d yuri asn inbgiwn.</p> <p>“I am staying at home because guests will visit me.”</p>
<p>፻፶፭፻፫ ጸ ተ፻፫፫፭ ር፭፻፳፭ ና፻፫፻፯.</p> <p>iqqim g tgmimi minzi yu፹n.</p> <p>“He stayed at home because he was ill.”</p>
<p>፻፻፱፱፻ ጸ ተ.ለ.ላ.ዐተ ዓ፫፻ ዐ.ለ ለ ላዐ፭ ዓ፫፻ ፻፲፱፻፷፯.</p> <p>ggawry g taddart acku rad d dari ackn inbgiwn.</p> <p>“I am staying at home because guests will visit me.”</p>

<p>ዕዕ ረላላኝ ዕ ተርሃዐ። ፎጽኦ ናይህረሃ። ur iddi s tmyra acku yiwḥl. “He did not go to the marriage ceremony because he was ill.”</p>
<p>ዕህኔ ዕጸላ። ፎጽኦ ዕ ሃኒላ ረተኒላ፤ ዕርርርደ። awi aẓnnaṛ acku ar yinn ittili uşmmiḍ. “Take the burnous because it is cold there.”</p>
<p>ዕዕ ተዘዘኒሃ ኔይላ። ዕርኔ ለዕናዕ ተኔርዕዕ። ur tffiy idnnaṭ umi days timssi. “She did not go out yesterday because she had a fever.”</p>
<p>ተረዐሪ ዕጸ ር። ዕዕ ዕርኔላ፤ ዕርዕ ስዕ። tḥrq sg ma ur as ucin amur nns. “She is unhappy because they did not give her her share.”</p>

The morpheme ሸኔጸ / llig “because” may also be used to express causality:

<p>ኔሪፀላ ሸኔጸ ዕዕ ና።ፎ። ኔፀፀዕ ተኔጸርርኔ። iqbl llig as yuca ibbas tiggmi. “He accepted because his father gave him the house.”</p>

4.4. Adverb clauses expressing concession and opposition

Adverb clauses of concession and opposition introduce an action that opposes the action expressed by the verb of the main clause. These clauses are introduced by a whole range of conjunctions; some of which are set out below:

- ሁዕጸ። / waxxa, ርረሪዕ / mqqar “even if, despite, in spite of”. These conjunctions are used with verbs conjugated in the perfective and imperfective forms as well as with verbs in the aorist form if they are preceded by the particle ዕላ / ad:

<p>ዕላ ለላኒሃ ዕጸ ኔፀፀ። ሁዕጸ። ዕላ ናኔሸኔ ለዘዘ። / ad dduy ag ittū waxxa ad yili uḍfl. “I will go with Itto even if there is snow.”</p>
<p>ለላኒሃ ሃ።ዕዕ ሁዕጸ። ዕይሃ. / ddiy yurs waxxa uḍny. “I went to see him although I was ill.”</p>
<p>ርረሪዕ ዕዕ ተፀፀ።ሁዕተ, ዕዕ ለዕ ኔፀፀሃ።ላ. / mqqar as tssawalt, ur da issyad. “Even if you talk to him, he will not listen.”</p>

- **᠘ᠣᠭᠦ** / maca, **᠘ᠣᠭᠦᠭ** / macc, **ᠰᠤᠴᠡ᠋᠋᠋** / imil “but”. They are used with all verbal themes.

ᠰᠠᠯᠠᠰ ᠤ᠋᠋ ᠰᠤ᠋᠋᠋ ᠘ᠣᠭᠦ ᠰᠣ ᠎ᠠ ᠰᠠᠯᠠᠰ ᠤ᠋᠋ ᠶ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋. / idda yr iŷrm maca ur ad iddu ŷur ḥmmu. “He went to the village but he is not going to pay Hemmou a visit.”
ᠠᠯᠰᠤ ᠠ᠋᠋᠋ ᠘ᠣᠭᠦ ᠰᠣ + ᠰᠢ᠋ ᠰᠢ᠋ᠰᠤ. / ddiy dars maca ur t inn uffiy. “I went to see him but I did not find him.”
ᠠ᠋᠋ ᠰᠠ᠋᠋᠋᠋ ᠤ᠋᠋ ᠰᠤ᠋᠋᠋ ᠘ᠣᠭᠦᠭ ᠰᠣ ᠠ᠋᠋ ᠰᠠ᠋᠋᠋᠋ ᠤ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋. / da ittraḥ yr iŷrm macc ur da ittddu ŷurs. “He usually goes to the village but he does not pay him a visit.”
ᠰᠣ᠋᠋ ᠰᠠ᠋᠋᠋᠋ ᠰᠤᠴᠡ᠋᠋᠋ ᠰᠣ᠋᠋ ᠰᠣ᠋᠋. / isya ayyis imil ukrn as t. “He bought a horse but they stole it from him.”

4.5. Adverb clauses of condition

The conjunctions that introduce the adverb clauses of condition convey a hypothesis or condition on which the implementation of the action expressed by the verb of the main clause depends. Some conjunctions filling this function are used with verbs in the aorist form provided these verbs are preceded by **᠎ᠠ** / ad (or one of its variants); the same conjunctions are also used with verbs in the perfective or imperfective forms. A whole range of conjunctive morphemes are laid out below:

-**᠘ᠣ᠋᠋** (**᠘ᠣ᠋᠋**) / mala (mla), **᠘ᠣ᠋᠋** (**᠘ᠣ᠋᠋**) / mri (mr), **ᠰᠣ᠋᠋** (**ᠰᠣ᠋᠋**) / ig (iy), **᠘ᠤ᠋᠋** (**᠘ᠤ᠋᠋**) / mk (km), **᠘ᠣ᠋᠋** / mud, **᠘ᠣ᠋᠋** / mta “if”

᠘ᠣ᠋᠋ ᠎ᠠ ᠰᠠ᠋᠋᠋ ᠤ᠋᠋ ᠰᠣ᠋᠋᠋ ᠎ᠠ ᠰᠠ᠋᠋᠋ ᠘ᠣ᠋᠋᠋. / mala ad iddu yr babas ad kis muny. “If he goes to see his father, I will go with him.”
᠘ᠣ᠋᠋ ᠰᠠ᠋᠋᠋ ᠤ᠋᠋ ᠰᠣ᠋᠋᠋ ᠎ᠠ ᠰᠠ᠋᠋᠋ ᠘ᠣ᠋᠋᠋. / mala idda yr babas ad kis muny. “If he had gone to see his father, I would have gone with him.”

The morphemes **ᠰᠣ᠋᠋** (**ᠰᠣ᠋᠋**) / ig (iy) and **᠘ᠤ᠋᠋** (**᠘ᠤ᠋᠋**) / mk (km) convey a condition in the future, whereas **᠘ᠣ᠋᠋** / mud and **᠘ᠣ᠋᠋** / mta express a hypothesis in the past:

᠘ᠤ᠋᠋ ᠰᠢ᠋᠋᠋᠋ ᠰᠢ᠋᠋ ᠰᠣ᠋ ᠎ᠠ ᠰᠣ᠋᠋ ᠰᠠ᠋᠋᠋ ᠠ ᠰᠢ᠋᠋᠋᠋. / mk iffŷ ini as ad isŷ adlis d iffyn. “If he goes out, tell him to buy the book that has just appeared.”
--

<p>ႁႃ ႛ ႁႃႃႃ. ႁႃႃ ႃႃ ႛႃႃႃ. / iy tn izṛa ifk asn tisura. “If he sees them, that he gives them the keys.”</p>
<p>ႃႃႃ ႃႃ ႛႃႃႃႃႃ ႃႃႃႃႃ, ႃႃ ႃ ႃႃ ႁႃ ႃ. / mud as tssiwld assnnaṭ, ur d ad ig aya. “If you had spoken to him yesterday, He would not have done this.”</p>
<p>ႃႃ. ႛ ႃႃႃႃ, ႃႃ ႃႃ ႃႃႃ ႃႃႃ. / mta tn zṛiy, ur rad ddun dars. “If I had seen them, they would not have visited him.”</p>

When the morphemes of condition are employed, the affixal personal pronouns of the verb and the orientation particles are moved to a preverbal position.

4.6. Adverb clauses of consequence

The conjunctions that introduce the adverb clauses of consequence express a fact or action which is the real or possible consequence of the action expressed by the verb of the main clause. Paramount among the conjunctions that meet this end, there are: ႃႃႃႃ / *alami* and ႃႃႃႃႃ (ႃႃႃႃႃ) / *ayllig* (*ayllyiṭ*) “until, till”. These conjunctions can be used with all verbal themes; however, when they are used with aorist verbs, they should be preceded by ႃႃ / *ad*.

<p>ႛႃႃႃႃ ႃႃႃႃ ႃႃႃႃ ႛႃႃႃ.</p> <p>tssiwł aṭṭaṣ alami twḥl. “She talked a lot until she got tired.”</p>
<p>ႛႃႃ ႛႃႃႃႃ. ႃႃႃႃႃ ႛႃႃႃ.</p> <p>tru tslmya ayllyig twḥl. “The baby has wept so much that she got tired.”</p>
<p>ႛႃႃ. ႃႃႃႃႃ ႛႃႃႃႃ.</p> <p>tcca ayllyig tgusma. “She ate so much that she got an indigestion.”</p>
<p>ႃႃ ႃႃႃႃႃႃ ႃႃႃႃႃ ႃႃႃႃ.</p> <p>ar zzigizn ayllyiṭ ṛmin. “They have walked so much that they got tired.”</p>

4.7. Adverb clauses of comparison

The adverb clauses expressing comparison are introduced by conjunctions that exhibit a comparison between the facts and actions expressed in the main

clause and the facts and actions expressed in the subordinate clause. The morphemes responsible for this function are: am (am / amux) and zun “like, as”. They are used with verbs in the aorist form preceded by ad as much as they are used with verbs in the perfective and imperfective forms.

$\text{aqqa issawal am isyuyyu.}$ aqqa issawal am isyuyyu. “He is talking as if he is screaming.”
$\text{ar sis sawaly zun iy ar sawaly s uyab.}$ ar sis sawaly zun iy ar sawaly s uyab. “I am talking to him as if I am talking to a wall.”
$\text{la itddu ami yifs ttazzaln.}$ la itddu ami yifs ttazzaln. “He is walking as if he is being pursued.”

4.8. Adverb clauses of manner

This variety of adverbial clauses expresses the manner in which the verb of the main clause has been undertaken. The conjunctions used in the adverbial clauses of manner are identical to the conjunctions used in adverb clauses of comparison: am (am / amux) and zun “like, as”. They are used with verbs in the aorist form preceded by ad as much as they are used with verbs in the perfective and imperfective forms.

$\text{iskr zun d iy rad ign.}$ iskr zun d iy rad ign. “He pretends he is going to sleep.”
$\text{iga ami la ittazzal.}$ iga ami la ittazzal. “He pretends to be running.”
iga amux ittş. iga amux ittş. “He pretends being asleep.”
iskr zun immut. iskr zun immut. “He plays dead.”

Manner may also be expressed by merely juxtaposing the main clause with the subordinate clause.

tffy ar ttazzal. “She went out running.”

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abès, M. (1916), *Manuel de berbère marocain*, S. L., S. E., 147 p.
- Aïssati, A. (1990), *Nessawal tmazight : A Basic Course Book in Berber- Tarifit*, Nimègue.
- Akouaou, A. (1976), *L'expression de la qualité en berbère : le verbe, parler de base : le tachelhiyt de Tiznit*, Third Cycle Thesis, Paris V / EPHE.
- Ameer, M. et al. (2004), *Initiation à la langue amazighe*, Publications of the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture, Imprimerie El Maârif Al Jadida, Rabat.
- Ameer, M. et A. Boumalk (Dir.) (2004), *Standardisation de l'amazighe*, Proceedings of the seminar organised by the Language Planning Centre in Rabat, 8-9 December 2003, Publications of the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture, Imprimerie El Maârif Al Jadida, Rabat.
- Ameer, M. et al. (2006), *Graphie et orthographe de l'amazighe*, Publications of the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture, Language Planning Centre, Imprimerie El Maârif Al Jadida, Rabat.
- Applegate, J. R. (1958), *An Outline of the Structure of Shilha*, New York.
- Applegate, J. R. (1963), *The Structure of Kabyle*, Los Angeles-Univ. of California.
- Aspignon, R. (1953), *Apprenons le berbère : initiation aux dialectes chleuhs*, Rabat, Moncho.
- Basset, R. (1887), *Manuel de langue kabyle*, Paris, Maisonneuve et Leclerc.
- Basset, A. (1948a), «Le système phonologique du berbère», in *GLECS*. IV. pp: 33-36.
- Basset, A. (1948b), «La proposition sans verbe en berbère», *G.L.E.C.S*, IV. pp: 30-32.
- Basset, A. (1929), *La langue berbère, morphologie, le verbe, étude de thèmes*, Paris, Librairie Ernest Leroux.
- Basset, A. (1950), «L'anticipation en berbère», *Mélanges William Marçais*, Paris, Maisonneuve, pp. 17-27.
- Basset, A. (1952), *La langue berbère, Handbook of African language*, Part I, London, (re-edited in 1969).
- Ben Si Lounis, A. & Ben Yahia, M. (1897) : *Grammaire mozabite*, Paris, Alger.
- Bentolila, F. (1981), *Grammaire fonctionnelle d'un parler berbère: Aït Seghrouchen d'Oum Jeniba, Maroc*, Paris, SELAF.
- Biarnay, S. (1908), *Etude sur le dialecte berbère de Ouargla*, Paris, Leroux.
- Biarnay, S. (1911), *Etude sur le dialecte des Beŕŕioua du viel-Azreu*, Alger, Jourdan.
- Biarnay, S. (1917), *Etude sur le dialecte berbère du Rif*, 2nd ed., Paris, Leroux.

- Bisson, P. (1940), *Leçons de berbère tamazight, dialecte des Aït Ndhîr*, Rabat, Félix Moncho.
- Boukhris, F. (1986), *Le verbe en tamazight : lexique et morphologie (Parler des Zemmour)*, 3rd Cycle Thesis, University Paris III, EPHE, 4th section.
- Boukhris, F. (1990), «Les structures interrogatives et le focus de contraste en tamazight : approche fonctionnelle», in *La linguistique au Maghreb*, Rabat, OKAD, pp. 313-328.
- Boukhris, F. (1998), *les clitiques en berbère tamazight. Approche minimaliste (parler Zemmour, Khémisset)*, Doctorat d'Etat Thesis, Med V University, Faculty of Letters, Rabat.
- Boukhris, F. (2003), «Tradition berbérissante et prémices de la standardisation de l'amazighe», in *PROLOGUES*, Revue maghrébine du livre, File : l'Amazighe : les défis d'une renaissance, coordinated by A. Boukous, n° 27 / 28, pp. 35-38.
- Boukhris, F. (2004), «La particule prédicative *d* en amazighe», in M. Ameur et A. Boumalk (Dir.), *Standardisation de l'amazighe*, Proceedings of the seminar organised by the Language Planning Centre in Rabat, 8-9 December 2003, Publications of the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture, Imprimerie El Maârif Al Jadida, Rabat.
- Boukhris, F. (2006), "Structure morphologique de la préposition en amazighe" in M. Ameur et A. Boumalk (eds), *Structures morphologiques de l'amazighe*, Proceedings of the seminar organised by the Language Planning Centre in Rabat, 7-8 October 2004, Publications of the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture, Imprimerie El Maârif Al Jadida, Rabat, pp. 46-56.
- Boukhris, F. (2009), "l'indéfini *iz / idž* : étude comparative", in Bouhjar and Souifi (eds), *L'amazighe dans l'Orient et le Nord du Maroc: variation et convergence*, Proceedings of the symposium organised by the Language Planning Centre in collaboration with the Faculty of Letters of Oujda, 10-11 November 2005.
- Boukouss, A. (1989), "Les études de dialectologie berbère au Maroc", *Langue et société au Maghreb. Bilan et perspectives*, Publications of the Faculty of Letters, Rabat, pp. 119-134.
- Boukouss, A. (2003), "De l'aménagement dans le domaine amazighe", *PROLOGUES*, Revue maghrébine du livre, File *L'amazighe : les défis d'une renaissance*, coordinated by Ahmed Boukouss, N° 27 / 28, pp. 13-20.
- Boukouss, A. (2004), «La standardisation de l'amazighe : quelques prémisses», In Ameur et Boumalk (Dir.), *Standardisation de l'amazighe*, Proceedings of the seminar organised by the Language Planning Centre in Rabat, 8-9 December 2003, Publications of the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture, Imprimerie El Maârif Al Jadida, Rabat.
- Boumalk, A. (1996), «La négation en berbère marocain», in Chaker S. & Caubet, D. (eds.), *La négation en berbère et en arabe maghrebin*, L'Harmattan, pp. 35-48.
- Boumalk, A. (2004), *Manuel de conjugaison du tachelhit (langue berbère du Maroc)*, Paris, l'Harmattan, CoLL.»Tirra-Langues, Littératures et civilisations berbères».

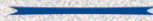
- Boumalk, A. (2005), «Le morphème dérivatif s- en berbère», in Antoine Lonnet & Amina Mettouchi (Dir.), *Faits de Langues* 26 / 1, *Les langues chamito-sémitiques (afro-asiatiques)*, Editions Ophrys, pp. 231-239.
- Bouylmani, A. (1998), *Eléments de grammaire berbère. Parler rifain des Ayt Touzine*, Doctorat d'Etat Thesis, Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences, English Department, El Jadida.
- Cadi, K. (1987), *Système verbal rifain, forme et sens*, Paris, SELAF.
- Cadi, K. (2006), *Transitivité et diathèse en tarifite. Analyse de quelques relations de dépendances lexicale et syntaxique*, Publications of the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture, Imprimerie El Maârif Al Jadida – Rabat.
- Chafik, M. (1991), *arba3atun wa arba3una darsan fi al amazighiyya* (Quarante quatre leçons en amazighe), Rabat, ed. Arabo-africaines.
- Chaker, S. (1983), *Un parler berbère d'Algérie (Kabylie) : syntaxe*, Publications of Provence University, Aix-en-Provence, Diffusion Jeanne Lafitte, Marseille.
- Chaker, S. (1984), *Textes en linguistique berbère*, ed. CNRS, Paris.
- Chaker, S. & Caubet, D. (eds.) (1996a), *La négation en berbère et en arabe maghrebin*, L'Harmattan.
- Chaker, S. (1996b), *Manuel de linguistique berbère – II. Syntaxe et diachronie*, ENAG-Editions, Alger.
- Chami, M. (1979), *Un parler amazigh du Rif marocain : approche phonologique et morphologique*, 3rd Cycle Thesis, Paris V University.
- Cortade, J. M. (1969), *Essai de grammaire touarègue*, Alger.
- Dallet, J.M. & L. de Vincennes (1960), *Initiation à la langue berbère (Kabylie)*, Algérie, Fort National.
- Delaporte, J. H. (ms.), *Grammaire de la langue berbère*.
- Delheure, J. (1987), *Grammaire de la teggargrent, berbère parlé à Ouargla*, Paris, Pères blancs.
- Destaing, E. (1907-1911), *Dialecte berbère des Béni Snouss*. 2 vol., Paris, Leroux.
- Destaing, E. (1920), *Etude sur le dialecte des Aït Seghrouchen, (Moyen Atlas marocain)*, Paris, Leroux.
- Drouin, J. et Roth, A. (eds) (1993), *A la croisée des études libyco-berbères*, Mélanges offerts à Paulette Galand-Pernet et Lionel Galand, Geuthner, Paris.
- El Moujahid, El. (1979), «Présentation des phonèmes de la langue tamazighte : le tachelhiyt d'Ighrem», *Traces* 2, pp. 52-78.
- El Moujahid, El. (1981), *La classe du Nom dans un parler de la langue tamazighte, le tachelhiyt d'Ighrem (Souss-Maroc)*, 3rd Cycle Thesis, Paris V, René Descartes University.
- El Moujahid, El. (1982), «Un aspect morphologique du nom en tamazight : l'état d'annexion», *Langues et littératures* 2, Publications of the Faculty of Letters, Rabat, pp. 47-62.

- El Moujahid, El. (1989), «La recherche linguistique en tamazight durant les trois dernières décennies: Morphologie et syntaxe», *Langue et société. Bilan et perspectives*, Publications of the Faculty of Letters, Rabat, pp. 42-52.
- El Moujahid, El. (1990), «La topicalisation en tamazight : dialecte tachelhiyt», *La linguistique au Maghreb*, Rabat, Okad, pp. 298-312.
- El Moujahid, El. (1995), «Dialectologie comparée : de quelques similitudes syntaxiques entre le berbère et l'arabe marocain « in *Dialectologie et sciences humaines au Maroc*, Publications of the Faculty of Letters, Rabat, Najah El Jadida, Casablanca, pp. 139-153.
- El Moujahid, El. (1997), *Grammaire générative du berbère. Morphologie et syntaxe du nom*, Publications of the Faculty of Letters, Rabat, Imprimerie Najah El Jadida, Casablanca.
- El Moujahid, El. (2006), «Morphologie du nom de qualité en amazighe», in M. Ameer et A. Boumalk (eds), *Structures morphologiques de l'amazighe*, Proceedings of the seminar organised by the Language Planning Centre in Rabat, 7-8 October 2004, Publications of the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture, Imprimerie El Maârif Al Jadida, Rabat, pp. 151-159.
- Galand, L. (1955), «Etat et procès : les verbes de qualité en berbère», *Hespéris* 1-2, pp. 245-251.
- Galand, L. (1957), «Un cas particulier de phrase non verbale : l'anticipation renforcée et l'interrogation en berbère», *Mémorial André Basset*, Paris, Maisonneuve, pp. 27-37.
- Galand, L. (1965), «Système sémantique berbère g 'mettre, faire, être'», *Revue de l'Ecole Nationale des langues orientales vivantes* 2, pp. 69-97.
- Galand, L. (1966a), «La construction du nom de nombre dans les parlers berbères», *verhandlungen des zweiten internationaln dialektologe kongressess*, I (z.f. Mundartforschung, Beihte. NF3), Wiesbaden, pp. 253-259.
- Galand, L. (1966b), «Les pronoms personnels en berbère», *BSL* 61 / 1, pp. 286-298.
- Galand, L. (1967), «La construction du nom complément du nom en berbère», *G.L.E.C.S.*, pp. 166-172.
- Galand, L. (1977), «Continuité et renouvellement d'un système verbal : le cas du berbère», *BSL* 72 / 1, pp. 275-303.
- Galand, L. (2002), *Etudes de linguistique berbère*, Peeters Leuven-Paris.
- Galand-Pernet, P., (1959), «Nom et verbe en berbère», in *Travaux de l'Institut de Linguistique de Paris*. IV. pp. 35-47.
- Galand-Pernet, P. (1984), «Sur les frontières entre nom et verbe en berbère», in *Modèles Linguistiques* VI, pp. 67-81.
- Gourliou, E. (1898), *Grammaire complète de la langue mozabite*, Algérie, Miliana.
- Guerssel, M. (1987), «The Status of Lexical Category Preposition in Berber : implications for the Nature of the Construct State», in *Studies in Berber Syntax*, Guerssel, M. and Halle, K. (eds.), Lexicon Project Working Papers, N° 14, pp. 159-190.

- Guerssel, M. (1992), "On Case System of Berber", *The Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 37 (2), pp. 113-299.
- Hanoteau, A. (1858) : *Essai de grammaire kabyle*, Alger, Jourdan. (re-ed. Amsterdam 1976).
- Hanoteau, A. (1896), *Essai de grammaire tamachek'*, Alger, Jourdain.
- Hanouz, S. (1986), *Grammaire berbère*, Paris, Klincksieck.
- Hanouz, S. (1990), *Nouvelle grammaire berbère. La langue, les origines du peuple berbère*, Paris, la pensée universelle.
- Harries-Johnson, J. (1966), *Syntactic Structure of Tamazight*, Doctoral Dissertation, U.C., Los Angeles.
- Harries, J. (1974), *Tamazight Basic Course: Aït Mgild Dialects*, Madison, Univ. of Wisconsin.
- Ibrizimow, D. et Vossen, R. (2001), *Etudes berbères*, Proceedings of the 1st Bayreuth-Frankfurter Kolloquium zur Berberologie, Bulletin Africaniste de Francfort, FAB-Nummer 13.
- Iazzi El. (1991), *Morphologie du verbe en tamazight (parler des Aït Attab, Haut-Atlas Central). Approche prosodique*, Diplôme d'Etudes Supérieures Thesis, Mohamed V University, Faculty of Letters, Rabat.
- Justinard, L. V. (1914), *Manuel de berbère marocain (dialecte chleuh)*, Paris, E. Guilmoto.
- Justinard, L. V. (1926), *Manuel de berbère marocain : dialecte rifain*, Paris, Geuthner.
- Kossmann, M.G. (1997), *Grammaire du parler berbère de Figuig (Maroc oriental)*, Paris-Louvain.
- Kossmann, M.G. (2000), *Esquisse grammaticale du Rifain oriental*, Paris-Louvain.
- Laoust, E. (1912), *Etude sur le dialecte berbère du Chenoua, comparé avec ceux de Beni Menacer et des Beni Salah*, Paris, Leroux.
- Laoust (1918), *Etude sur le dialecte berbère des Ntifa : Grammaire, Textes*, Paris, Leroux.
- Laoust (1924), *Cours de berbère marocain : dialecte du Maroc central*, Paris, Geuthner.
- Laoust, E. (1936), *Cours de berbère marocain : dialecte du Sous, du Haut et de l'Anti-Atlas*, Paris, Société d'éditions géographiques, maritimes et coloniales (2nd edition reviewed and edited).
- Loubignac, V. (1924), *Etude sur le dialecte berbère des Zaën et Aït Segougou : grammaire, textes, lexique*, Paris, Leroux.
- Leguil, A. (1992), *Structures prédictives en berbère. Bilan et perspectives*, Paris, l'Harmattan.
- Mammeri (1976), *Tajeɣɣumt N Tmaziyt (tantala taqbaylit)*, Paris, Maspero.
- Mammeri (1986), *Précis de grammaire berbère (Kabyle)*, Paris, MSH (Awal).
- Motylinski, G. A. (1904), *Le dialecte berbère de R'damès*, Paris, Leroux.

- Naït-Zerrad, K. (1995), *Tajerrumt n-tmazight tamirant (Grammaire du berbère contemporain - Kabyle -)*, Alger, ENAG.
- Naït-Zerrad, K. (2001), *Grammaire moderne du kabyle (tajerrumt tatrart n tqbaylit)*, Paris, Karthala.
- Naït-Zerrad, K. (ed.) (2002), *Articles de linguistique berbère*, Memorial Werner Vycichl, l'Harmattan, Tira – Langues, littératures et civilisations berbères.
- Nehlil, M. (1909), *Essai sur le dialecte de Ghat*, Paris, Leroux.
- Ouhalla, J. (1988), *The Syntax of Head Movement. A Study of Berber*. PhD Thesis. London: University College London.
- Penchoen, T.G. (1973a), *Tamazight of the Aït Ndhir*, Los Angeles, Undena publ.
- Penchoen, T.G. (1973b), *Etude syntaxique d'un parler berbère (Aït Frah de l'Aurès)*, Naples, Studi Magrebeni.
- Prasse, K. G. (1972, 1973, 1974), *Manuel de grammaire touarègue (tahaggart), I – III : Phonétique-Ecriture-Pronom ; VI-VII : Verbe ; IV-V : Nom*, Copenhagen, Akademisk Forlag.
- Renisio, A. (1932), *Etude sur les dialectes berbères des Bni Iznassen, du Rif et des Senhaja de Sraïr. Grammaire, textes et lexique*, Publications of l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines, Tome XXII, Editions Ernest Leroux, Paris.
- Sadiqi, F. (1986), *Studies in Berber Syntax*, Königshausen + neumann, Würzburg.
- Sadiqi, F. (1997), *Grammaire du Berbère*, Paris, L'Harmattan.
- Sadiqi, F. & M. Ennaji (2004), *A Grammar of Amazigh*, Fès, Publications of the Faculty of Letter, Dhar El Mehraz.
- Sarrionandia, P. (1905), *Grammática de la lingua rifeña*, Tánger, Imp. Hispano-arabica.
- Serhoual, M. (2002), *Dictionnaire tarifit-français*, Doctorat d'Etat Thesis, Tétouan University, 2 volumes.
- Souifi. H. (2002a), «Structures, classements et ordres des unités significatives de la phrase verbale d'un parler berbère d'Aït Oujdir», *Cahier du Centre Interdisciplinaire des Sciences du Langage*, n° 16, Toulouse Le-Mirail University, pp. 23-50.
- Souifi. H. (2002b), «Les déterminants de la classe du nom dans un parler berbère d'Aït Oujdir», *Revue Franco-Africaine, Langues, Textes et Sociétés*, Toulouse Le-Mirail University, pp. 168-196.
- Souifi, H. (2002c), *Les unités significatives de la phrase verbale simple d'un parler berbère de Villa San Jurjo / Alhucemas « Ajdir » (Rif / Maroc Nord)*, Lille, Press Universitaires du Septentrion.
- Taifi, M. (1991), *Dictionnaire tamazight-français*, Awal- l'Harmattan, Paris.
- Venture du Paradis, J. M. (1844), *Grammaire et dictionnaire abrégés de la langue berbère*, Paris, Impr. Royale (2nd édition: 1864).
- Vycichl, W. (1957), «L'article défini du berbère», *Mémorial A. Basset*, Maisonneuve, Paris, pp. 139-146.

The central thrust of this book is to shed light on the grammatical rules of Amazigh. The originality of this work is reminiscent of the fact that it is a grammar of standard Moroccan Amazigh and not a a grammar of one of the Amazigh varieties. It is, therefore, meant to offer a reference grammar to Standard Amazigh. Foremost among the principles taken into consideration in its preparation is the unity of the language, the preservation of Amazigh richness in terms of grammatical structures and tools as well as a rational planning of variation.



ΣΧο 8Π++οΘ οΛΟΠοΙ Ι 8ΛΠΣΘ οΛ, οΛ ΣΘΘΘΘ
 ΣΠ8ΧΙ Ι +8+Πογ+ +οΓοЖΣγ+. ΠΠο ΣΓΓοΠ ΓοΓΚ
 ΘΟΠ8ΟΣΙ ΣΠ8ΧΙ οΛ Χ +8ΓΓοΘ+ Ι +8+Πογ+ ΣΓΘοΘοΙ.
 +Χο +ΙQQ8Γ+ οΛ +ΣΙ +ΓοЖΣγ+ +οΓγΟΣΘΣ+
 ΣΓΘοΘοΙ, 8Ο +ЖΠΣ γοΘ Θ ΣΙΙ Ι ΠοΠοΠ Ι +ΓοЖΣγ+,
 ογΠο ++ ΣЖΠΣΙ ЖΣ ΣΛΠΣΘΙ Ι +ΙQQ8Γ+ ΣΓЖΠ8Οο.
 ΓΚΠΠΣ +Χο γοΙ 8ΘΙ+Σ Πο ΣΧΘΙ οΛ γοΠΕ +ΣЖΣ Ι γο+
 +ΙQQ8Γ+ Πο γ8Ο οΘγ8Ο οΧο+οΟ. Σ++γοΚΟο Π Χ
 +ΣΟΟο ΠΘ ΓΠοΠ ΣΓΙЖο οΓ +ΣΟΘοΠ Ι +Γ8ΙΣ Ι
 +8+Πογ+ +οΓοЖΣγ+ Λ 8ΛΕΕ8 Ι ΣΓοΘΘΙ ΣΙΙQοΓ 8Πο
 +8ЖΚΣΠΣΙ ΠΘ.